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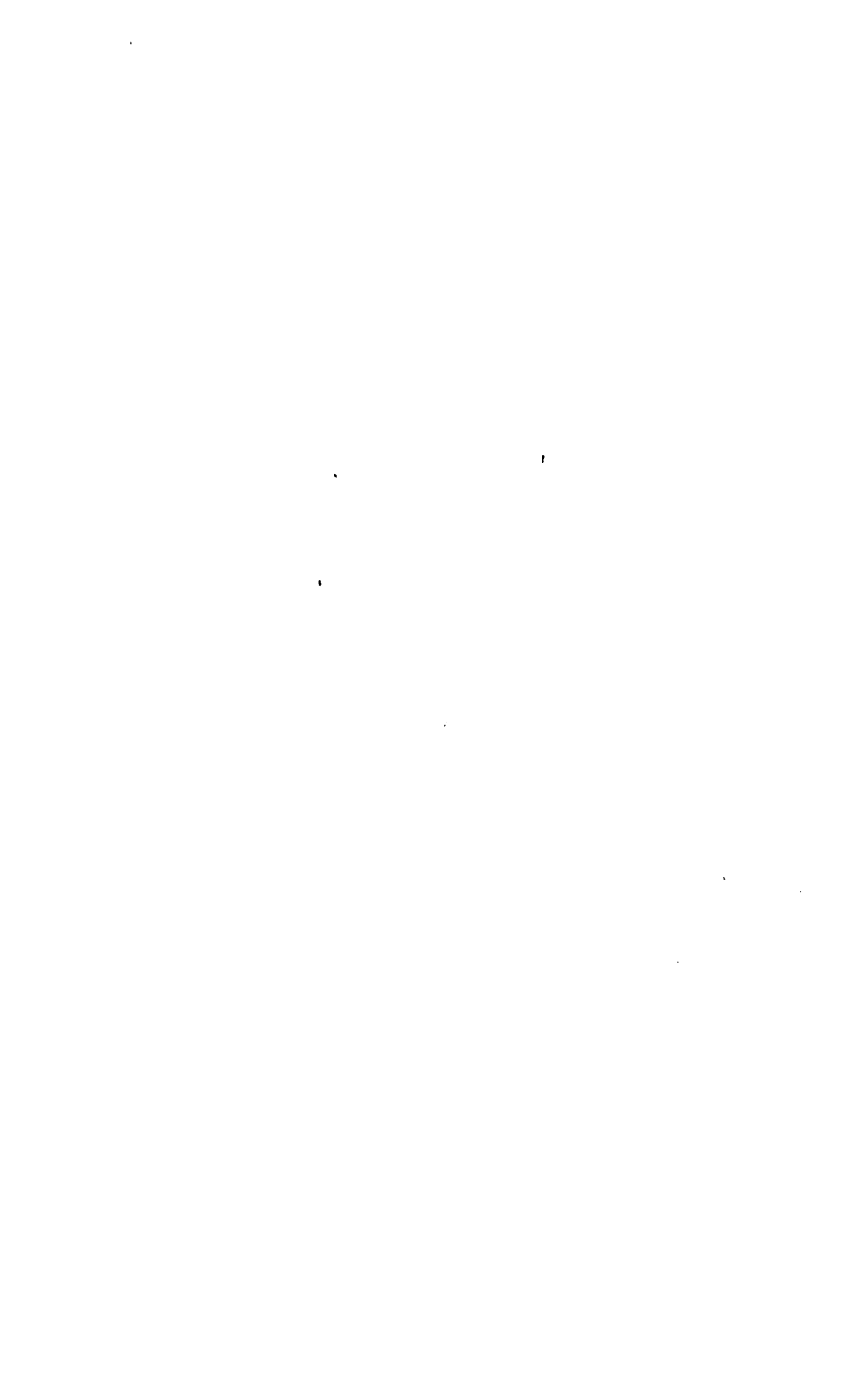


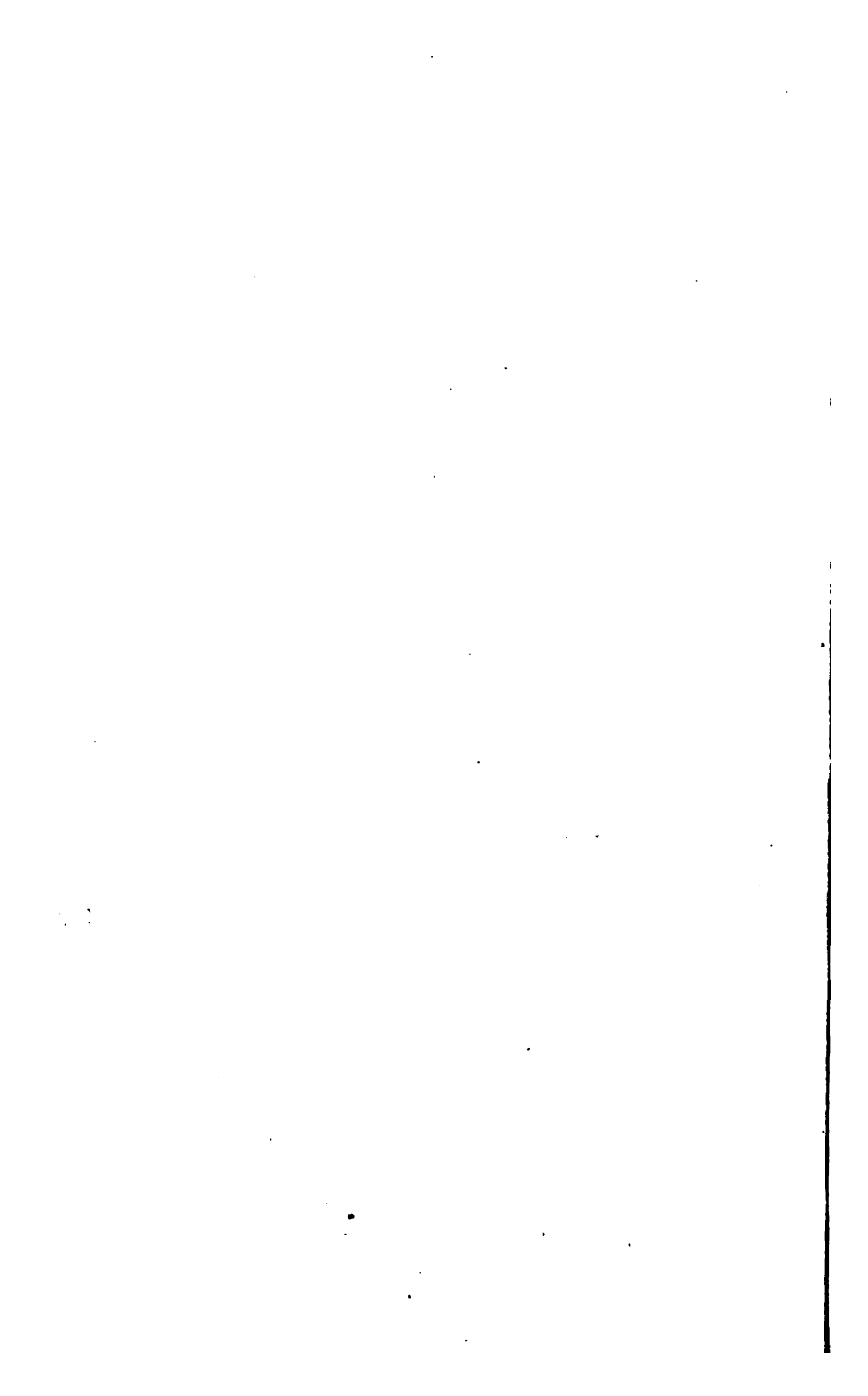


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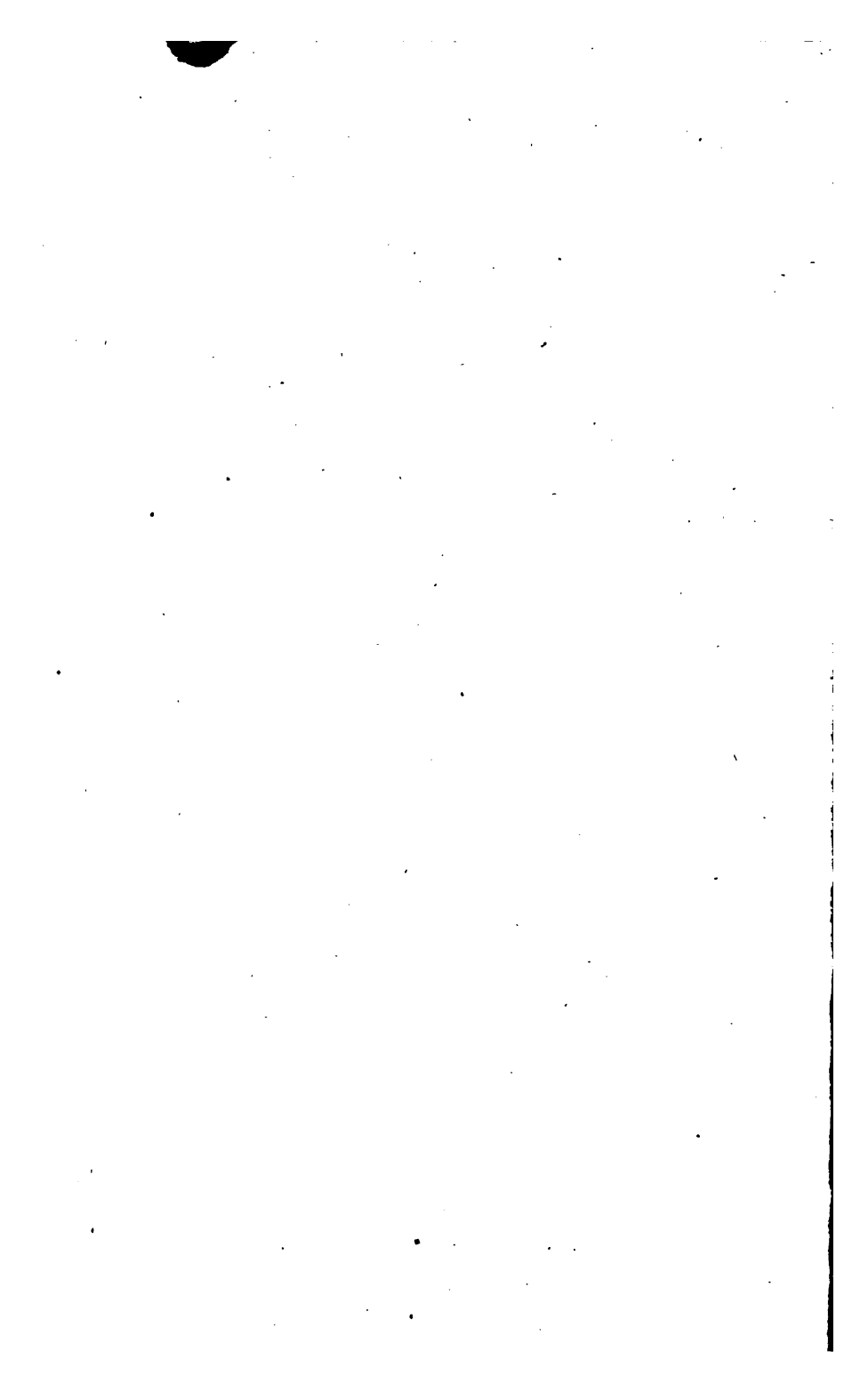


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A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam patris servitutis, ac
testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

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H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.
B O O K F I F T H.

H E N R Y V I I I.

NOTHING could be more agreeable to the English than the humiliation of the prelates. A.C. 1537.
They now began openly to discuss controverted points of religion ; and were by their indiscreet zeal hurried into dangerous extremities. The bishops, in order to lighten the burden of the sum they had granted to his majesty, were desirous that a part should be borne by the inferior clergy ; and the bishop of London assembled some priests of that metropolis in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, to propose an assessment. His purpose was to obtain the consent of a few at first, hoping the rest would follow their example. But all the London priests, being apprized of his intention, went thither in a tumultuous manner, accompanied by a great number of laymen, who fomented the dispute ; and when the bishop made the proposal, they answered,

Riot by the
priests of
London.

A. C. 1537. they had never meddled with any of the cardinal's faculties, consequently had not fallen in the pre-munire: that their livings were already too small for their subsistence: that, as the guilt lay intirely among the bishops and abbots, who had good preferment, they only ought to sustain the punishment: as for themselves, they had not transgressed, and therefore would not pay for a pardon. They had already burst open the door, and committed divers irregularities; and now that the bishop's officers threatened them with condign punishment, a sharp conflict ensued, in which his lordship's servants having been very roughly handled, he dismissed the rioters with his blessing, assuring them, they should not be called in question for this disturbance. Far from keeping his word, he complained to the chancellor, by whose order fifteen priests, and five laymen were committed to prison; but, whether or not the inferior clergy payed any proportion of the tax, we cannot determine. Henry, alarmed at these commotions, resolved to convince his people, that although he had shaken off the papal yoke, his intention was not to violate the essential truths of religion; and therefore ordered the laws against heretics to be rigorously put in execution: an order which was attended with the death of two ecclesiastics, and a lawyer, who were condemned to the flames in Smithfield.

Hall.
Burnet.

Herbert.

Notwithstanding this severity, the king of England, and his ally Francis, resolved to support the protestants in Germany, not from religious motives, but in order to oppose the growing power of the Austrian family. Ferdinand was by this time elected king of the Romans; and the catholic princes of the empire had entered into an offensive league against the Lutherans. The French king not only favoured these reformers, but is even said to have instigated the Turks to invade the Austrian dominions.

dominions. Charles, without pretending to suspect him of any such design, sent ambassadors to solicit a supply of money for the maintenance of the war against the Infidels; and to this address Francis replied, that the emperor had received money enough from him already; that he was neither merchant nor banker, to supply his wants; but, that he would have his share in the honour and danger in all enterprizes which it might become him as a christian prince to undertake. The aim of Francis was to regain the footing he had lost in Italy, by the assistance of the English monarch; and fomenting jealousy between Charles and the pope, whom he soothed and threatened by turns, according to the prevailing passions of his holiness. He likewise cajoled Henry, by flattering his inclinations in the affair of the divorce, assuring him, that should Clement refuse doing him justice, he would join him in withdrawing all spiritual obedience from the holy see. He concluded an agreement with the princes of the league of Smalcalde; and persuaded the king of England to assist them with fifty thousand crowns, remitted by the hands of the French ambassador, as a sum to be employed for the defence and conservation of the rights and privileges of the empire. The two kings had endeavoured by negotiations to detach the pope wholly from the emperor; but, Clement dreading an open rupture with such a powerful antagonist, amused them with vain hopes, until at length, fearing he would compromise affairs with Charles, they resolved to intimidate him from taking such a step, by diffusing the report of a new treaty, which they actually concluded at London. Though this was purely defensive, as the articles were not known, the emperor was not a little alarmed, believing, that while the Turks should invade his Austrian dominions, Henry and Francis would attack him in

A. C. 1531.

Sleidan.

A. C. 1532.

Herbert.

New treaty
between
Henry
and Francis,

A. C. 1532. Italy and the Low Countries. He was confirmed in this conjecture, when he understood that these two princes had agreed to have an interview between Calais and Boulogne.

The parliament meeting on the fifteenth day of January, the commons, who were previously instructed by the court, presented an address, beseeching his majesty to consent to the reformation of divers abuses which had crept into the immunities enjoyed by the clergy. The king answered, that before he could assent to a proposal of such importance, he would hear what the clergy had to say in their own defence. This step was taken, in order to shew them how much they needed his royal protection, hated as they were by the parliament. Several statutes were enacted, which slightly touched upon the privileges of that body; though they were abundantly consoled for these mortifications, by an act releasing them from the payment of annates to the pope, which had ever been a heavy burden. The statute imported, That since the reign of the late king, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been sent to Rome, on account of annates, or first-fruits, palls and bulls for bishoprics: That the annates had been originally intended as a contribution for a war against the Infidels; but, as they were not employed for that purpose, it was enacted, That they should not be payed for the future: That not above five per cent. of the actual revenue should be paid for the bulls of bishoprics: That, in case of the pope's refusing to grant them on these conditions, the bishop elect should be presented by the king to the metropolitan of the province, by whom he should be consecrated: but, should the archbishop refuse consecration, on pretence that he himself had not as yet received his bulls or pallium, two prelates nominated by the king should perform the ceremony;

Statute for
abridging
the pope's
power and
extortion in
England.

mony; and then the elect should be deemed lawfully consecrated. The parliament declared, That it should be in the king's power to annul or confirm this act within a certain time. If, in that interval, he should make an accommodation with the court of Rome, it should be deemed inviolable; but, should the pope, on account of such accommodation, pretend to harass the kingdom with sentences of excommunication and interdict, these censures should be held as null and void; all ecclesiastics were forbid to publish them, but ordered to celebrate divine service, as if they never had been issued. A. C. 1532.
Burnet.

About this period the king received a letter from the pope, observing, that he had heard of his putting away his queen, and keeping another person called Anne, as his wife, to the great scandal of his character, and contempt of the holy apostolic see, before which the suit was still depending: he therefore exhorted him to take back queen Catherine, and dismiss Anne; and in so doing, he would avoid a rupture with the emperor, who could never otherwise digest such an indignity as he had put upon his aunt; and prevent an interruption in the union of Christendom, which was the only security against the progress of the Infidels. It does not appear that Henry sent a particular answer to this letter; but, he dispatched doctor Bennet to Rome in quality of ambassador, to lay before the pope the decisions and opinions of universities and learned men, touching the divorce; and he was charged with a letter, in which the king taxed his holiness with ignorance, partiality, and deceit; declared, that he did not intend to impugn his authority further, unless compelled; desired he would conform to the opinion of so many learned casuists; and do his duty according to the dictates of his conscience. Clement, instead of gratifying the king's inclination;

A. C. 1532.

Henry sends
an excusator
to Rome.

tion, expedited a citation, summoning him to appear in person, or by proxy, at Rome, to answer to the queen's appeal; and Sir Edward Karne was sent thither as Henry's excusator. He was instructed to employ the best counsel he could find, to justify the king for not appearing at Rome, on the principles of the canon-law, and the prerogatives of the crown of England. He was accompanied by Bonner; and found the consistory divided in their opinions of the divorce. Those who favoured the emperor pressed the pope to proceed in the cause. The more moderate cardinals advised him to act with caution, as in all probability he would lose England by adhering to Charles. The pope himself being informed of the bill concerning annates, expostulated on that subject with the ambassadors, who answered, that as it was still in the king's power to revoke the act, it would depend upon his holiness whether it should be annulled or confirmed. They retained Rovidellus, a learned canonist of Bologna, to plead the king's cause; and they bribed the cardinals of Ravenna, Monte, and Ancona, to use their influence in his behalf. The excusatory plea was argued in the consistory, and after much dispute, neither allowed nor rejected: but, the vacation approaching, the pope and college of cardinals wrote a letter to Henry, intreating him to send a proxy in the winter. Bonner, who was sent over to England on this occasion, had instructions from the cardinals who were gained over to the king's interest, to assure him, that the affair could be judged in no other manner but in the consistory; and that he had nothing to fear from the decision of the pope, who now leaned to the French interest.

Bonnet.

While these points were debated at Rome, the parliament of England met again in April; and in the course of the session, a member of the name
of

of Temse moved, that an address might be presented to the king, praying his majesty to take back the queen, and avoid all the inconveniencies that might attend the illegitimation of the princeſs. Henry was incenſed at the freedom of this commoner, for which he chid the ſpeaker of the houſe, and appealed to the teſtimony of his own conſcience for the juſtification of his conduct. He afterwards repreſented to the lower houſe his intention of peopling the Engliſh ſide of the northern Marches, which were uninhabited; and the members voted a ſubſidy for this purpoſe; but, before the bill could be paſſed, the plague broke out in London, and the parliament was prorogued till February. Immediately after this prorogation, Sir Thomas More dreading the conſequences of a total rupture with the court of Rome, and diſliking the perſon and proceedings of Anne Boleyn, reſigned his office of chancellor *, which was conferred upon Sir Thomas Audley. Anne was created marchioness of Pembroke, and accompanied the king in his interview with Francis.

Sir Thomas
More reſigns
the ſeals.

On the eleventh day of October, Henry embarked for Calais with a royal retinue, and viſited Francis at Boulogne, where he was entertained with equal magnificence and hoſpitality, for the ſpace of four days, at the expiration of which the French king accompanied him to Calais. There he was ſplendidly regaled with entertainments of various ſorts. Anne de Montmorency conſtable, and Philip Chabot admiral of France, were admitted into the order of the garter, as the dukes of Norfolk

Interview
between
Henry and
Francis in
Picardy.
Herbert.

* Sir Thomas More, who was very much addiſted to jeſting, retired to Chelſea, diſmiſſed his ſervants, made a preſent of his fool to the lord mayor, provoked his wife by ſome ſarcaſtic jokes to leave him, and lived with his daughters, upon the income of a ſmall eſtate, not exceeding one hundred pounds a-year, and the intereſt of a little money. He was a man of learning, humour, moderation, and integrity.

Herbert.

A. C. 1532. and Suffolk had been received into that of St. Michael at Boulogne. The two monarchs, in order to vindicate themselves from the aspersions of Charles, who taxed them with indifference to the interest of Christendom, and to amuse the Italians and Germans with the hope of a new war, which might hinder them from accommodating their disputes with the emperor, mutually engaged by letters patent, to raise an army of eighty thousand men against the Infidels, and march with them into the empire, or into Italy, according to the emergency of affairs: but, this scheme they never intended to put in execution. In this interview Henry loudly complained of the pope's partiality; and Francis seemed to encourage and foment his animosity against that pontiff, though he was then engaged in a secret negotiation with Clement, about a marriage between his second son the duke of Orleans, and Catherine de Medicis the pope's kinswoman.

Herbert.

Henry mar-
ries Anne
Boleyn.

Different
negotiations
with the
court of
France.

When the two kings parted, Henry returned to England; and in January was privately married to Anne Boleyn, by Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, in the presence of Cranmer, who had now succeeded Warham in the archbishopric of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Anne's father, mother, and brothers. The pope had sent a message to the king, proposing to send a legate, with two auditors of the Rota, to try the cause in some indifferent place, reserving the sentence to himself; and that a truce should be established for four years, before the expiration of which he would call a general council. Henry dispatched Sir Thomas Elliot with an answer to these proposals, importing, That he could take no resolution concerning a peace, without the concurrence of the French king: that, considering the present state of religion in Germany, he apprehended

hended a general council would be altogether unreasonable : that he could not send a proxy to Rome, or any other place out of his own dominions, without giving up the prerogative of his crown, and acting contrary to the laws of his kingdom ; but, that his holiness might remit the discussion of the affair to the clergy of England, and confirm the sentence they should pronounce. The emperor, alarmed at the designs of Solymán emperor of the Turks, as well as at the interview and league between Henry and Francis, thought it was high time to quiet the clamours of the protestants ; and for that purpose repaired to the diet of Ratisbon, where it was decreed, that no person should be molested on account of religion, until a general council should be convoked. The protestants were so well satisfied with this indulgence, that they joined the other princes in furnishing Charles with such proportions of men and succours, as enabled him to assemble a very powerful army, to stop the progress of the Infidels. These invaded Hungary, and advanced as far as Austria, in hope of drawing the Imperialists into a battle ; but Charles wisely avoided a general engagement, and hampered them so much in their progress, that they were soon obliged to retreat into their own country. Then the emperor repaired to Bologna, where he had an interview with the pope, to whom he proposed a general council for the reduction of the protestants, a match between Catherine de Medicis and Sforza duke of Milan, and a league of the Italian powers, who should maintain an army to defend their country from invasion. Clement would not agree to a council, because the last of those assemblies had encroached upon the papal authority : he told the emperor, that his niece was already engaged to the duke of Orleans ; but he assented to the proposal of the league, which was accordingly concluded. About

Guicciardini.

A. C. 1532. About this time, doctor Bennet the English envoy made fresh overtures touching the divorce; but they were rejected by the pope, as expedients that would intrench upon his prerogative. He ordered the dean of the Rota to summon Henry to answer to the queen's appeal: Karne protested against the citation, as the king could not expect justice at Rome, where the emperor's interest predominated. He demanded, that his holiness would desist, otherwise Henry would appeal to the decision of learned casuists and universities: he affirmed, there was a nullity in all the proceedings: that his king was a sovereign prince, and the church of England a free church, over which the pope had no legal authority.

Burnet.

A. C. 1533. The English people resolved to concur heartily with the king in all his measures for abolishing the papal authority in this kingdom. The parliament assembling in February, enacted a statute, prohibiting all appeals to Rome, under the penalty specified in the statute of Premunire. Cranmer being in Germany when the archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant, was no sooner informed of the king's intention in his favour, than he begged to be excused from such a burdensome dignity; but, his refusal serving only to confirm Henry in his design of promoting him to that see, he was obliged to return, though he journeyed slowly, in hope that the king's resolution might be altered before his arrival. Henry having great confidence in his learning, courage, and integrity, looked upon him as the only man who could put the finishing stroke to the divorce; and insisted upon his receiving the archbishopric. After Cranmer had submitted with great reluctance to the will of his sovereign in this particular, another difficulty occurred. He professed scruples of conscience about taking the usual oath to the pope; but, at length the king found

Cranmer promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

out

out a salvo, which removed his objections. This was a previous protestation against the oath, which he accordingly made, not much for the credit of his character; and was put in possession of the temporalities of the archbishopric. This affair being determined, the convocation of the province of Canterbury was assembled, and required to give their opinion on the following questions: Whether or not the dispensation of pope Julius II. for the marriage of Catherine and Henry was sufficient to render the said marriage binding and valid? and, Whether or not the consummation of Arthur's nuptials with that princess had been fully proved? On the fifth day of April the convocation declared, That the pope had no power to grant dispensations against the law of God; and, that the consummation of the first marriage had been as fully proved as the nature of the case would permit. The same answers were made to those propositions by the convocation of York; and Henry resolved to proceed upon the cause of the divorce before the jurisdiction of his own clergy.

A. C. 1533.
Convocation declares the marriage of Catherine with Henry null and void.

In the mean time, he desired Francis to send over some person of confidence, to whom he might impart certain things which he did not care to divulge; and the French king pitched upon William du Bellay lord of Langeais, who was ordered to tell Henry, that the marriage between the duke of Orleans and Catherine de Medicis was concluded, and would be celebrated at Marseilles in the presence of the pope and Francis: that the presence of the king of England at such a juncture would probably induce Clement to comply with his desires: or, that should he decline coming in person, he might send thither an envoy to solicit his affair. When Du Bellay arrived in England, Henry gave him to understand, that as Clement had obstinately rejected all his proposals, he was resolved to renounce Clement

A. C. 1533. ment in his turn : that he had married Anne Boleyn ; but, that he would keep his marriage secret until the month of May, to see if the king of France could prevail upon the bishop of Rome to do him justice ; but should that pontiff still continue obstinate, he would intirely withdraw himself from the papal power. He likewise told Langeais, that he had written a book upon the usurpation of the Roman see, and the prerogatives of crowned heads ; but would not publish it until all hope of accommodation should vanish. It was not in his power, however, to conceal his marriage much longer ; for his new wife became pregnant, and it was necessary to make it public, in order to preserve her reputation. The archbishop of Canterbury now demanded his permission to proceed against his former marriage with Catherine, whose consent to the divorce the king attempted to obtain by fair means ; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, the queen was cited to appear at Dunstable, near the place of her residence. She rejecting the citation, Cranmer pronounced sentence, declaring her marriage null, as being contrary to the law of God ; and, by another, confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was crowned on the first day of June.

Mem. du
Bellay.

Cranmer
pronounces
sentence to
the same ef-
fect, and
confirms the
king's mar-
riage with
Anne Bo-
leyn.

Henry sent the lord Mountjoy to intimate these sentences to Catherine, who still refused to submit ; and the king ordered that, for the future, she should have no other title than that of princess dowager of Wales. He likewise notified his divorce and new marriage to all the neighbouring princes ; and, among the rest, to the emperor, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who endeavoured to justify his majesty's conduct, and told the emperor, that the king of England hoped to find him his friend as heretofore. Charles received this intimation very coldly ; and answered, that he would take the advice of his council, touching the mea-
sures

sures he should pursue. The pope was incensed to the utmost degree of indignation at the sentence of Cranmer, and the book written by Henry against the papal authority; a copy of which had been already perused at Rome. He forthwith reversed the sentence; and declared, that the king himself deserved excommunication, unless he should, before the end of September, renounce all that had been done contrary to the authority of the holy see. Clement still hoped that some expedient might be found to reclaim Henry, who had gone too far to retract; but sent the duke of Norfolk, as his ambassador, to accompany Francis in his interview with the pope at Marseilles. That nobleman, while he resided in France, being informed of the steps that were taken against his master at Rome, sent lord Rochfort to England for new instructions, and was himself immediately recalled. Nevertheless, the king, at the desire of Francis, sent Stephen Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, with Sir Francis Bryan, and Sir John Wallop, to attend him at the interview; and these were accompanied by Edmund Bonner, an ecclesiastic of great impudence and resolution. After the celebration of the nuptials at Marseilles, Francis prevailed upon the pope to satisfy the king of England; but, in order to save the honour of the holy see, he insisted upon judging the cause in a consistory, from which the cardinals of the emperor's faction should be excluded. Bonner, who was ignorant of this resolution, demanded an audience of Clement, and gave him to understand that the king of England had appealed to a future council from any papal sentence that either was or might be given against him. The pope said he would take the advice of the cardinals; and, in a few days, told him that the appeal was not receivable; but Bonner, without being intimidated by this answer, proceeded to notify the

A. C. 1533.

The pope
reverses the
sentence.Interview
between
Clement
and Francis.Herbert
Burnet.

A. C. 1533. the appeal of the archbishop of Canterbury from the reversion of the sentence he had pronounced; and his holiness was so incensed at Bonner's presumption, that he threatened to cause him to be thrown into a cauldron of molten lead. Francis likewise expressed his indignation at the Englishman's insolence, and promised to assist the pope in taking vengeance on him for such an outrage; nevertheless he allowed the delinquent to escape.

Guicciardini.
Burnet.

Notwithstanding this intervention of Bonner, which, for the present, prevented the accommodation; Francis did not despair of seeing the dispute terminated in an amicable manner. On his return from Marseilles he sent John du Bellay, bishop of Paris, with new proposals to Henry, who consented to the dispute's being terminated at Cambray, by judges who could not be suspected of partiality. The bishop, having gained this point, set out for Rome in the middle of winter, and found Clement very well disposed to agree to this expedient; but he insisted upon Henry's signing a writing, by which he should be bound to abide by this determination; and, in order to avoid delays, fixed a certain day for the return of the courier, who was dispatched to England for the instrument. The emperor's ministers were no sooner informed of this negotiation, than they pressed the pope to revoke his engagement; and, by dint of importunity, obtained his promise, that if the courier should not arrive within the limited time, he would hold himself disengaged, and give sentence against Henry. The messenger not appearing precisely within the time, the bishop of Paris solicited a delay of six days only; but the pope was so much affected by the menaces of the Imperialists, that he would not comply with this request. On the contrary, he finished in one consistory, what, according to the usual forms, ought to have been canvassed in three. He published

The pope
denounces
a conditional
centure
against
Henry.

lished a sentence, declaring the marriage of Henry with Catherine good and legitimate, and commanded that prince to take back his wife, on pain of incurring ecclesiastical censure. In two days after this decision the courier arrived from England, with full power to the bishop of Paris to grant what the pope had demanded; and several cardinals advised him to revoke the sentence, but the emperor's partisans prevailed upon him to reject the proposal. Thus England was wholly dismembered from the see of Rome.

A. C. 1533.

In all probability the king was not sincere in his proposals of accommodation with Clement; for, even before he could know the issue of that negotiation, the parliament, meeting on the fifteenth day of January, began the session with an act, repealing the statute of Henry IV. against heretics. Not that the parliament intended to exempt them from the penalty; for, by the new law, they were condemned to the stake: but, in order to hinder the clergy from being sole judges in such cases, it was enacted that heretics should be tried according to the laws of the kingdom, without any regard to the canon law. By another act it was decreed, That no synod or convocation of the clergy should be held without the king's licence: That his majesty should appoint two and thirty persons from the parliament and the clergy, to examine the canons and constitutions of the church: That those which were necessary should be preserved, and all the rest abolished. This parliament passed an act of attainder or conviction against Elizabeth Barton, known by the appellation of the maid of Kent, a native of the parish of Aldington, who was tutored by certain ecclesiastics to excite disturbances in the kingdom. She had been troubled with hysterical fits, during which she uttered many incoherent and delirious expressions, which

A. C. 1534.

Act for altering the constitutions of the church.

Account of Elizabeth Barton,

A. C. 1534. induced the ignorant by-standers to believe that she was divinely inspired. Richard Master, the parish priest, foreseeing advantages to himself in trumping up an imposture, persuaded this weak fanatic that she actually spoke from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; taught her to counterfeit trances, and utter speeches which were deemed the oracles of heaven: he was assisted in his knavish design by one doctor Bocking, a canon of Christ-Church in Canterbury. Elizabeth thus instructed, became an apt pupil; prophesied with all the marks of holy emotion, writhed her body into strange contortions, inveighed against the favourers of the new doctrine as abominable heretics, exclaimed against the king's divorce; and, in order to raise the reputation of a chapel within the parish, declared that the Blessed Virgin had appeared to her, and assured her she would never recover until she should visit her image in that place of worship. She accordingly went in pilgrimage to the chapel; where, in the midst of an infinite concourse of people, she pretended to fall into a trance, poured forth pious ejaculations, declared that God had called her to a religious life, and appointed Bocking to be her ghostly father. She pretended to be recovered of all her distempers by the intercession of the Virgin; took the veil, saw visions, heard melody, received from Mary Magdalen a letter from heaven, was conveyed by an angel to Calais, while the king resided in that city, received the sacrament in his presence, though invisible; and was brought back again in the same manner to her own monastery. She prophesied that if Henry should proceed in the divorce, and marry another wife, his royalty would not be of a month's duration, but that he should die the death of a villain.

Her pretended revelations were collected and inserted in a book, by a monk called Deering.

War-

Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, a credulous A. C. 1534 though pious prelate, was imposed upon by her delusions. She was countenanced by Fisher bishop of Rochester, and others, who adhered to the interest of Catherine. They held private meetings with this diviner, and debauched many persons from their allegiance, particularly the fathers and nuns of Sion, the Charter-house, and Sheen, and some of the observants of Richmond, Greenwich, and Canterbury. One Peto, preaching before the king at Greenwich, told him he had been deceived by many lying prophets; but he as a true Micajah, warned him that the dogs should lick his blood, as they had licked the blood of Ahab. Henry bore this insult with great temper; but, to undeceive the people, appointed doctor Corren to preach before him on the ensuing Sunday, when that ecclesiastic justified the king's proceedings, and branded Peto with the epithets of rebel, slanderer, dog, and traitor. He was interrupted by an Observant friar of the name of Ellston; who calling him a lying prophet, that sought to establish the succession to the crown upon adultery, he spoke with such virulence that the king was obliged to interpose, and command him to hold his peace; and he and Peto were afterwards summoned before the council, and rebuked for their intemperance. The ecclesiastics engaged in this conspiracy, encouraged by the lenity of the government, had resolved to publish the revelations in their sermons throughout the kingdom: they had communicated them to the pope's ambassadors, to whom also they introduced the maid of Kent, and they exhorted queen Catherine to persist in her obstinacy. At length the confederacy began to be a very serious affair, and Henry ordered the maid and her accomplices to be examined in the Star-chamber; where they confessed all the particulars of the imposture, and appeared upon

A. C. 1534. a scaffold in St. Paul's church, where the articles of their confession were publicly read, in their hearing. From thence they were conveyed to the Tower, where they remained till the meeting of the parliament, which having considered the case, pronounced it a conspiracy against the king's life and crown; and the nun, with her accomplices, were attainted of high treason. The bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Twaites, John Addison, and Thomas Abell, were adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, to forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and to be imprisoned during his majesty's pleasure; and the books of the nun's revelations were ordered to be sent to the secretary of state, on pain of fine and imprisonment. In the course of the inquiry they discovered that the letter said to come from Mary Magdalen was written by one Hankherst of Canterbury; that the door of a dormitory said to have been opened by miracle, that the nun might go into the chapel, and converse with God, was really opened for carnal communication between her and her accomplices.

Bishop of Rochester and others adjudged guilty of misprision of treason.

Herbert.

The parliament passed the act, declaring the king's marriage with Catherine void, and settling the succession upon the issue of his lawful wife Anne, whether male or female*; the members, have-

The succession settled by parliament.

* They confirmed the statute against Annates; they enacted that for the future the pope should have no share in the election or confirmation of bishops; but, that in cases of vacancy, the king should expedite a congé d'elire, or licence to elect new bishops; and if the election should not be made in twelve days after the date of the licence, the power of electing should devolve to the king; that the bishop elect should take

an oath to the king, who should recommend him to the bishop for consecration; and should the elect or the archbishop refuse to conform to this order, he should incur the penalties of the act of Premunire. All persons were likewise forbid to address themselves to the bishop of Rome for bulls, palliums, or any other religious purpose. Another act abolished Peterpence, together with all procurations,

de-

having sworn to maintain the succession, the two houses were prorogued to the third day of November. On the twentieth day of April, the maid of Kent, with Bocking, Master, Deering, Risby, and Gold, were executed at Tyburn, where the nun confessed her imposture, laying the blame upon the confederates, who had imposed upon her ignorance; she craved pardon of God and the king, and besought the people to pray for her and her fellow-sufferers. When the cheat was first discovered, Cromwell, who was by this time raised to the office of secretary of state, exhorted Fisher bishop of Rochester to acknowledge his offence, and ask pardon of the king, who he knew would grant it in consideration of his age and infirmities. The bishop rejected this advice with disdain, and threatened to speak his conscience freely, should he be further troubled on this account. Cromwell sent him another letter, expostulating with him upon his misconduct, reminding him of having concealed matters that concerned his majesty's life and dignity; assuring him that should he be brought to trial, he would certainly be found guilty; and pressing him again to have recourse to the clemency of the king, who, upon proper submission, would pardon what was past, and take him into favour: Fisher continued still obstinate, refusing to make the least submission, and was included in the act, as guilty of misprision of treason.

After the separation of the parliament, Henry sent commissioners through the whole kingdom, to administer the oath to all his ecclesiastical

delegations, bulls, and dispensations, issued by the court of Rome; empowering the archbishop of Canterbury to grant such dispensations as should not be contrary to the law of God, on condition that part of the money thence

arising, should be brought into the king's treasury. Besides, all religious houses, whether exempted or non-exempted, were subjected to the visitation of the archbishop.

A. C. 1534

Burnet.

Stowe.

A. C. 1534. subjects, importing that they would be faithful to the king, queen, their heirs, and successors; that they held the king to be the supreme head of the English church, and the pope to be no more than any other bishop; that they renounced all obedience to that prelate; that they would preach the pure doctrines of the holy scripture; and that they would publicly pray for the king as the head of the English church, for the queen, and the archbishop of Canterbury. This oath was voluntarily taken by the majority of all the abbots, priors, monks, and all the bishops, except Fisher; who, with Sir Thomas More, refused to take it as it was then conceived. Sir Thomas declared he was willing to swear to the succession, provided he might be allowed to draw up an oath for himself. Cranmer and Cromwell expressed great tenderness for him. They endeavoured to convince him by arguments, and Cranmer proposed that his expedient should be accepted; but the king being incensed against them, they were committed prisoners to the Tower, debarred the use of pen and paper; and Fisher was stripped of every thing in his old age, but a few rags which hardly covered his nakedness.

Sir Thomas
More and
bishop Fisher
committed
to the Tower.
Burnet.

Henry, having in vain endeavoured to persuade Catherine to submission, began to apprehend some storm from her nephew the emperor, who had undertaken to execute the pope's sentence, and proposed to render his union with Francis still more intimate, for their common defence. That prince amused him with fair promises, but did not chuse to contract any new connections, lest he should disoblige the pope, with whom he had been so lately allied. His chief aim was to recover Milan; and, in order to pave the way for repossessing himself of that dutchy, he endeavoured to detach Sforza from the interest of the emperor, who had restored him on very hard conditions, and was in his heart dis-

affect-

affected to the house of Austria. That the negotiation might be kept secret, it was carried on by one Merveille, a native of Milan, who had resided many years in France, and now returned to his native country with private credentials to Sforza, who received him as the French envoy. The emperor, being informed of this correspondence, threatened the duke in such a manner, that he resolved to sacrifice Merveille for his satisfaction. He hired a man to quarrel with this envoy; and the fray ending in the murder of the person thus employed, Merveille was imprisoned, convicted, and in two days beheaded. When Francis complained of this outrage offered to his honour in the person of his envoy, the duke denied that Merveille was in any public character: but the French king using this as a pretext for invading the Milanese, assembled a body of troops, and demanded a passage through the territories of the duke of Savoy. That prince refusing his demand, he resolved to strip him of his dominions, to which he trumped up a claim in right of his mother Louisa; and, during his preparations for this war, pope Clement dying, was succeeded in the papacy by cardinal Death of pope Clement. Farnese, who assumed the name of Paul III. In the course of this year, the landgrave of Hesse defeated the army of king Ferdinand, and re-established the duke of Wirtemberg in possession of his dominions: at length, Ferdinand was acknowledged as king of the Romans by the duke, the landgrave, and the elector of Saxony, in consideration of his giving his word, that no person in the empire should be molested on account of religion. Sleidan.

The parliament of England re-assembling on the twenty-third day of November, enacted several important laws, to destroy all future connexion between the kingdom and the pope. They confirmed the title of supreme head of the church, which The parliament confirms the king's supremacy,

A.C. 1534. the clergy had already bestowed upon the king. They declared all those who should speak, write, or imagine any thing to the prejudice of the king and queen, guilty of high-treason. They deprived all such of the benefit of sanctuaries. They drew up a certain form of oath to be taken by subjects, with regard to the succession of the crown, abolishing all former oaths on the same subject. They adjudged to the king the annates and first fruits, together with the tythe of all benefices. They established five and twenty suffragans to be chosen by the king, and to depend upon the bishops of the dioceses to which they should belong; and granted a general amnesty, from which, however, they excepted Fisher and More, who were, by a particular act, declared guilty of misprision of treason. After the parliament broke up, the king published a proclamation to suppress the name of pope, and erase it from all books and writings. All the prelates renounced obedience to the bishop of Rome, and, among the rest, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, though in his heart he detested the king's measures. By this time the reformation had made great progress in England as well as in Germany, notwithstanding the persecution which had been raised at the instigation of Sir Thomas More, while he occupied the office of chancellor. The treatises of Luther were well known to the subjects of Henry; and the Bible was translated into the English language by Tindal, who had withdrawn into the Low Countries. The bishop of London ordered some copies of this translation to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. Several persons were burned and suffered martyrdom with surprising constancy. These severities, instead of extinguishing, served only to feed the flame of religious opposition, which was likewise increased by the quarrel with the pope. The reformation was favour-
ed

Burnet.

ed by Anne Boleyn, archbishop Cranmer, and secretary Cromwell ; but, at the same time, it had very powerful enemies in the persons of the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, Longland bishop of Lincoln, and many other ecclesiastics who had access to court ; and, in preaching before Henry, filled their sermons with invectives against the new doctrine. The king himself, though he had shaken off the papal yoke, was a bigotted catholic in every other respect ; and, to his dying day, believed the real presence in the Sacrament. Besides, he had written a book against the doctrine of Luther, who had treated him in a scurrilous manner ; and though that reformer had afterwards humbled himself in a letter to Henry, he could never forgive the insolence of his first attack.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the French king, in order to sound the inclinations of Henry, sent over Philip Chabert, admiral of France, to communicate some overtures of peace, which had been made by the emperor. That prince proposed a marriage between the third daughter of Francis, and Philip prince of Spain ; and another match between the dauphin, and Mary, daughter of Henry and Catherine. When the admiral imparted these particulars to the king of England, Henry replied that he could not but wonder at the insolence of the emperor, in pretending to dispose of his daughter, over whom he had no power ; but he afterwards proposed, in his turn, that his new-born daughter Elizabeth should be married to the duke of Angoulesme, third son of Francis, on condition that he (the French king) his three sons, the princes of the blood, the principal nobility, the parliaments and universities of France, should engage to procure a reversion of the sentence which the bishop of Rome had pronounced against Henry ; that the duke of Angoulesme should be educated in England,

A. C. 1535. land, and, in case of his ascending the English throne, by virtue of his marriage, the dutchy of Angoulesme should be independent of the crown of France. These proposals were favourably received by Francis, who nevertheless demanded that Henry would furnish him with succours for the war of Savoy, and release him intirely from the perpetual pension of one hundred thousand crowns, which he had obliged himself to pay to the king of England. Henry, judging from this demand that Francis was not in earnest, declared, that far from renouncing his pension, he insisted upon the payment of the arrears within the time prescribed. This reply interrupted the negotiation; and, while Charles carried his arms into Africa, where he restored Muley Haffem to his kingdom of Tunis, from whence he had been expelled by the famous corsair Barbarosa, Francis attacked the dutchy of Savoy, which he reduced in the very first campaign.

Sandoval.
Herbert.

Francis in-
vades Savoy,
which he
subdues.

Although Henry had now trampled under foot the papal authority, conquered all opposition in his own dominions, reduced the earl of Kildare, who had rebelled in Ireland at the instigation of the emperor, and concluded a treaty of peace with his nephew James king of Scotland; he did not enjoy that tranquillity which he might have expected to reap from his success. He was embroiled by the disputes about religion, in which he acted such a part as was agreeable to neither side. He gave a loose to his passions, and became boisterous, cruel, and arbitrary. The monks having incensed him with personal abuse, he resolved, with the advice of his council, to execute the laws upon them without mercy. He was in particular exasperated against the new pope, who created Fisher a cardinal during his imprisonment, as a recompence for having denied the king's supremacy. The king, in order to shew his resentment and contempt of the honour which

which the pope had bestowed, ordered the oath to be tendered once more to Fisher, who, refusing it as before, was condemned and executed as a traitor. He was a prelate of some learning, of an exemplary life, great austerity, and devoted to the papal power. Sir Thomas More was inveigled by Rich the solicitor-general into a conversation about the supremacy, which, joined to his former conviction of misprision of treason, was deemed a sufficient cause for taking his life away. He was accordingly condemned and decapitated, though the king reaped nothing but reproach from the death of a man who was universally esteemed for his integrity, and admired for his wit and facetious humour, which he exerted to the last moment of his life. He desired one of the by-standers to help him to mount the scaffold, saying, he should not be so solicitous about coming down again. When the executioner asked his forgiveness, he told him, he would acquire very little honour by doing his work upon him, because he had a very short neck; and, after having laid his head upon the block, perceiving his beard was in the way of the ax, he laid it on one side; saying, it did not deserve to suffer, as it never committed treason.

During these transactions, pope Paul III. expressed an eager desire to find some means of accommodating matters with Henry; and frequently conferred on this subject with Gregorio Casali, who still resided at Rome, though not in a public character. But when he understood that Fisher and More, together with several monks, had been executed for refusing to own the king's supremacy, he concluded that England was lost for ever to the see of Rome; and, in order to support the honour of the papacy, thundered a bull of excommunication against Henry, absolving all his subjects of their oath of allegiance. He ordered all ecclesiastics to retire

A. C. 1535.

The bishop
of Rochester
and Sir
Thomas
More are
beheaded.

A. C. 1535. retire from his dominions, commanded the nobility to rise in arms against him, laid the kingdom under an interdict, forbade all christians to communicate with the English, annulled all treaties which other powers had concluded with Henry before his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and declared all the children that should be produced from that marriage illegitimate and incapable of succession: nevertheless, he delayed the publication of this bull, until it could be supported by the imperial arms. The king was no sooner informed of this attack, than he, in conjunction with Francis, sent ambassadors to the princes of the league of Smalcalde in Germany, to propose an union of interests: but the protestants, whose only aim was to enjoy liberty of conscience, saw no prospect of being able to maintain a sincere union with two princes who condemned their doctrines, and even persecuted those of their own subjects by whom these doctrines were professed. They proposed, in their turn, that Henry should subscribe the confession of Augsburg; and he desired they would send some able theologians to confer with those of England on this subject. But he had no intention to conform to their opinions: on the contrary, he himself pretended to dictate to all the world.

General visitation of the monasteries.

As the monks had slandered him in many particulars, and even debauched a great number of his subjects from their allegiance, he, after having deliberated with his council, ordered a general visitation of the monasteries, that strict inquiry might be made into their titles, revenues, the morals of the friars and nuns, and the regulations observed in each order. By this expedient he foresaw he should be able to undeceive the public in their opinion of the sanctity of such characters, to wreak his revenge upon the monks, whom he considered as his implacable enemies, and augment his revenue with

with their spoils. Thomas Cromwell, being chosen A. C. 1535. visitor-general, appointed substitutes for the examination of the monasteries, where they found such irregularities and scenes of vice, debauchery, and imposture, as were disgraceful to religion, and indeed shocking to human nature. The examiners, who were by no means friends to monastic institutions, did not fail to exaggerate those particulars in their reports. They first threatened the delinquent friars and nuns with all the severity of the law, and then insinuated, that, in order to avoid punishment, and conceal the disorders they had committed, they should resign their houses to the king, who would take care to provide for the subsistence of every individual. This advice was followed by a great number of priors, with the concurrence of their monks; and the report of the commissioners was published, that the world might see there was an absolute necessity for such a general visitation. Then appeared a minute detail of the most surprising enormities. Many convents were divided into factions, which exercised the most barbarous cruelties on one another, as they chanced to predominate. They carried on an idolatrous traffic, by imposing upon the superstitious people with relics and images. In some houses the visitors found the implements of clipping and coining. The majority of the nuns in many nunneries were pregnant; a great number of abbots and monks were convicted of criminal correspondence with harlots and married women; and, not a few detected in the gratification of unnatural lusts, and other brutal practices. After this publication, the king, as the head of the English church, absolved of their vows all the monks who had engaged in a religious life before the age of four and twenty; and permitted all the rest to quit their monasteries, and live as seculars, according to their own pleasure. But this

Burnet.

A. C. 1535. permission producing very little effect, Henry had recourse to other measures.

In the course of this year, cardinal Campejus, and an Italian called Ghinacer, were deprived of their bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, which the king bestowed upon Nicholas Chaxton, and Hugh Latimer, who favoured the reformation: John Helsey obtained the see of Rochester, vacant by the death of Fisher, and Edward Fox was appointed bishop of Hereford. Henry, apprehensive that James, king of Scotland, who he knew was disaffected to his person, would, notwithstanding the peace, take the first opportunity of invading England, if any civil commotion should arise, thought he could not find a more effectual method to secure himself from that quarter, than by persuading his nephew to follow his example, in renouncing the papal authority. For this purpose he wrote a long letter to that prince, explaining the reasons of his separating himself from the see of Rome; then he sent an ambassador to propose an interview. Tho' the reformation had gained footing in Scotland, James himself had no intention to forsake the old religion; nevertheless, he would not bluntly decline the interview which his uncle proposed: but, he found means to delay the conference, under various pretences; and in the mean time, solicited the pope for a brief, forbidding him to hold an interview with Henry. Then he intimated this prohibition to his uncle, who having already made preparations for his journey, was extremely incensed at the repulse, which produced a quarrel between the two monarchs.

Henry proposes an interview with James king of Scotland; by whom it is declined.

Buchanan.
Herbert.

Death of
queen Catherine.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the unfortunate queen Catherine died at Kimbolton, after having sustained a long series of afflictions. She had been harassed by repeated messages from Henry, importuning her to resign the title of queen, which

she never would lay down; protesting, that as the pope had declared her marriage valid, she would sooner lose her life than her title, which she continued to exact from all her servants. She became, however, very affable, and acquired great popularity among the country people. When the king proposed, that she should reside at Fotheringay-castle, she declared, she would never go thither unless as a prisoner. She lived on the pension assigned her as princess dowager of Wales; and though she could have no great comfort in England where she was a stranger, she never discovered the least inclination to quit the kingdom, where, in all probability, she was detained by her motherly care of the princess Mary. In her will, she desired her body might be buried in a convent of Observant friars: that five hundred masses should be said for her soul: and, that a person should make a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, and distribute two hundred nobles in charity upon the road: she likewise bequeathed some legacies to her servants. When the king heard of her illness, he sent her a kind message, and she dictated a very tender letter to him, in which she called him her dear lord and husband; forgave him all the trouble in which he had involved her; recommended her daughter Mary to his care and affection; desired he would provide for her three maids; indulge her servants with a small gratuity; and concluded with these words: "I make this vow, That mine eyes desire you above all things." She was certainly a devout and virtuous princess, who led a severe and mortified life; but, she was a bigot in religion, and of a fretful disposition, which, in all probability, at first alienated the king's affection, as she had no personal charms to fix his natural inconstancy. He expressed some regret at her death; but would not allow her to be buried according to her own directions.

Her

A. C. 1536. Her body was interred in the abbey church of Peterborough, which he afterwards converted into an episcopal cathedral. Queen Anne did not behave with due decorum on this occasion. She rejoiced openly at the decease of Catherine; and seemed to take pleasure in communicating her satisfaction to the public.

Polyd. Virg.
Hollingshed.
Herbert.
Burnet.

The parliament had impowered the king to nominate two and thirty persons, to make a collection of ecclesiastical constitutions; and now that act was confirmed. The king represented to the parliament in this session, that the great number of monasteries was an expence to the kingdom, and desired them to apply some remedy to this evil: in consequence of which remonstrance, they passed an act, suppressing all monasteries whose revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds; and appropriated their income for his majesty's use. By this law the crown acquired the yearly value of two and thirty thousand pounds, besides a capital of above one hundred thousand pounds, on the plate, ornaments, and effects of churches and convents. Then he erected a new court of justice, called the court of the augmentation of the king's revenue, for taking cognizance of all such sequestrations. The clergy met in convocation, proposed, that a new translation of the Bible into the English language should be made, and published for the sake of those who did not understand Latin; and though this motion was vehemently opposed by Gardiner, and his party, Cranmer carried his point. The king was petitioned to employ some capable persons to translate the scriptures; the queen seconded the petition, with which Henry complied; and though we know not who the translators were the work was in three years printed at Paris. Henry, having obtained all he wished from the parliament, dissolved that assembly, after it had continued sitting six years, a longer term than parliament had ever

Act for suppressing monasteries.

ever subsisted since the beginning of the English A. C. 1536
monarchy.

By this time, Sforza duke of Milan being dead without issue, the dutchy devolved to the emperor, who perceiving Francis bent upon the conquest of that country; and supposing he would not embark in such an undertaking, without the promise of assistance from the king of England, resolved, if possible; to disunite those two potentates. He set on foot a private negotiation with the king of France; and promised to cede the dutchy of Milan to one of that monarch's sons. At the same time, hearing of queen Catherine's death, he offered to renew his alliance with Henry, on condition, that the king of England would be reconciled to the pope through his mediation; that he would furnish him with powerful succours against the Turks; and assist him in defending Milan from the attacks of Francis. To these proposals Henry replied, that the measures he had taken against the pope could not be recalled; that he should always be ready to act as become a christian prince, against Infidels: that he was willing to renew the alliance with the emperor; provided it could be done without prejudice to his ally the king of France; and the emperor would own, that he himself had been the cause of the rupture. Henry plainly perceived, that the design of Charles was to detach him from the interest of France, without any intention to renew the alliance with England. Francis had given him to understand, that Charles intended to compel him by force of arms to acknowledge the pope's supremacy; for which purpose he solicited the assistance of Francis; and, on that condition offered to cede the Milanese. The king of England being thus apprized of the emperor's intentions, continued his negotiation with the protestants of Germany, in order to find him work in his own dominions.

A. C. 1536. He had already sent Edward Fox as his envoy to the league of Smalcalde; and the members of that association agreed to unite their interests with his, on condition, that he would subscribe the confession of Augsburg, and defend it with all his power in a free council, which should be held in a place chosen for the purpose, with their consent; that if the pope should insist upon assembling a council, according to his own pleasure, Henry should join them in their protestations against it, and assume the title of protector of the league: that he should never acknowledge the pope's supremacy, or give the least assistance to their enemies: that he should supply the league with one hundred thousand crowns for their present occasions, and furnish double that sum, in case the war should continue: and they declared, that as soon as he should have agreed to these articles, they would send ambassadors to England, to bring the treaty to perfection. Henry had no intention to subscribe the confession of Augsburg; but as it was his interest to protract the negotiation, he gave them to understand, that the money should be furnished as soon as they could agree about the other articles: that he had no objection to the title of protector; but, could not profess the faith of Augsburg, until his conscience could be satisfied of the truth of that confession; for which purpose, he desired to be better informed of their particular doctrines. They forthwith nominated Sturmius, Draco, Melancthon, and Bucerus, to confer with Henry and his theologians; but they were forbid to come to any conclusion that might be prejudicial to the emperor or empire.

This treaty was interrupted by an event equally surprising in itself, and interesting to the favourers of the reformation. Henry began to be cloyed with the possession of Anne Boleyn, who had lately been delivered of a dead male child, to the unspeakable

able disappointment of her husband, who was superstitious enough to believe this accident was a judgment from heaven. He was about this time captivated with the beauty of Jane Seymour, one of the queen's ladies; and his passions were so strong and impetuous, that he sacrificed every thing to their gratification. These concurring motives for his alienation from the queen, were strengthened by his wife's deportment, which was too frank and unguarded, to screen her from the imputation of levity and indiscretion. Her enemies, in particular the duke of Norfolk, and all those who had adhered to the old religion, took advantage of this disposition, to inflame the king's jealousy; the principal fomenters of which was the lady Rochford, sister-in-law to queen Anne, a woman of an infamous character, who hated her mistress with the most envenomed rancour. She hinted to the king that his wife carried on a criminal correspondence with her own brother the lord Rochford; and Henry's mind being prepared for this poison, by his disgust for Anne, and his new passion for Jane Seymour, it operated with great violence. The insinuations of the lady Rochford were confirmed by the duke of Norfolk, who enjoyed a great share of the king's confidence, and was devoted to the popish religion, which could not flourish while queen Anne lived to countenance the reformation. The partisans of the pope therefore conspired her ruin. She was not only accused of incest with her brother Rochford, but likewise of living in carnal commerce with Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston, and Brereton, of the king's privy-chamber, and Mark Smeton, a musician. There was no other evidence than an hearsay declaration of one lady Wingfield, who confessed some particulars on her death-bed: but, this was sufficient to ruffle such a mind as that of Henry, who is said to have observed Anne, at

A.C. 1536. a tournament in Greenwich, drop her handkerchief to one of her minions, that he might wipe his face, after having overheated himself in the exercise. Be that as it may, the king returned abruptly to Whitehall; Anne was confined to her chamber; and the suspected delinquents being apprehended at the same time, were committed to the Tower. Anne smiled at first, thinking the king was in jest; but, when she found it was a very serious affair, she received the sacrament in her closet, and prepared for death. This reverse of fortune affected her in such a manner, that she was seized with hysteric fits, during which she laughed and wept by turns; and uttered many inconsistencies according to the nature of that disease. Next day, she was conveyed to the Tower, where she fell upon her knees, and appealed to God for the knowledge of her innocence. She in vain begged to be admitted into the presence of the king. The lady Boleyn, her uncle's wife, who had always hated her, was ordered to be in the same chamber with her; and she made a report of all the incoherent ravings of the afflicted prisoner. She was visited by the duke of Norfolk, and some of the king's council, who endeavoured to draw her into a confession, by saying she was accused by Norris and Smeton: but, she still persisted in denying the charge; and told the lieutenant of the Tower, she was not more guilty with any man upon earth than with himself. She confessed indeed, that she had, in the gaiety of heart, made use of some indiscreet expressions to Smeton, and Weston; and the familiarity of her behaviour had encouraged them to hint a passion for her, which, in all probability, afforded her matter of laughter and amusement; and perhaps, the knowledge of those frivolous circumstances increased the king's jealousy and indignation.

Anne Boleyn committed to the Tower.

Every

Every person at court abandoned the unhappy queen in her distress, except Cranmer, who, tho' forbid to come into the king's presence, wrote a letter to him in behalf of Anne Boleyn; but his intercession had no effect. On the twelfth day of May, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried in Westminster-Hall; when Smeton confessed he had known the queen carnally three times; but, he was supposed to have been inveigled into this confession with a promise of pardon. The other three pleaded not guilty; but all four were convicted and condemned to die the death of traitors. On the fifteenth day of the month, the queen, and her brother lord Rochford, were brought to their trial, before the duke of Norfolk, as lord high-steward for the occasion, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and five and twenty other peers. The queen appearing at the bar, was charged with criminal conversation with her brother, and the other four; as also with having conspired the king's death. She pleaded not guilty, and answered distinctly all the evidence that was produced against her. As she was not confronted by Smeton, in all probability he had bore false witness; for all the others denied the charge. Nevertheless she was convicted, and condemned to be burned or beheaded, at the king's pleasure. Her brother likewise was found guilty, and sentenced to be beheaded and quartered. The king, not satisfied with this vengeance, was desirous of seeing her daughter Elizabeth declared illegitimate. He remembered a report of a previous contract, between lord Piercy, now earl of Northumberland, and Anne Boleyn. The earl being questioned on this subject, declared, that no such contract had ever subsisted. He swore to this declaration on the sacrament, which he wished might be his damna-

Convicted
and be-
headed.

A. C. 1536. tion if he did not speak the truth. Nevertheless, Anne was tampered with in such a manner, either by promise of life, or threats of executing the sentence in all its rigour, that she confessed, such a pre-contract, at Lambeth, before the afflicted archbishop of Canterbury, and some other persons of distinction; and her marriage with the king was declared null and insufficient. This sentence, however, palpably contradicted the other which had been pronounced against her; for, if her marriage with Henry was null from the beginning, she could not be justly attainted for adultery. In two days after this declaration, she was ordered to be executed in the green on Tower-Hill; and behaved with great piety, resignation, and good humour. She is said to have written a letter to the king, when she first understood the cause of her confinement. Such an address was afterwards found among the papers of Cromwell, drawn up with such pathetic eloquence and dignity of expression, as to do great honour to the author; but it is generally suspected to have been written by another hand. On the day that preceded the execution, she desired the wife of the lieutenant of the Tower to sit down in the chair of state; then kneeling before her, and shedding a flood of tears, she conjured her to go, in her name, and ask pardon of the princess Mary, for the harshness with which she had been treated. On the morning of her execution she sent for the lieutenant, that he might be present at her receiving the sacrament, and declaring her own innocence. She said, she was sorry to hear her execution was delayed till the afternoon, because, before that time, she had expected to be out of her pain. Then she inquired about the dexterity of the executioner; fixed her hands about her neck, observing, that she had a very little neck, and laughed heartily. When she was brought to the scaffold,

in

in presence of the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the lord chancellor, the secretary Cromwell, with the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, she said she was come to die, as she had been judged by the law. She prayed God would preserve the king, who had been always to her a most merciful, good, and gentle sovereign; and desired, that people would judge of him with charity. She took leave of all the spectators, desiring they would pray for her; and after she had spent some time in devotion, her head was severed from her body by the executioner of Calais, who was brought over for his dexterity in performing that operation. Her body was thrown into a common chest, and buried in the Tower-chapel without any ceremony. Her brother, with the other convicts, were beheaded, except Smeton, who was hanged. Norris was promised to be forgiven, if he would confess his guilt, and accuse the queen. But he rejected the proposal with disdain, saying, in his conscience he thought her free of the crimes laid to her charge; and would rather die a thousand times, than ruin an innocent person. Thus fell Anne Boleyn, whose fate has been the subject of much controversy. She seems to have been a lady of unaffected piety, and a very charitable disposition; though she had, by her education in France, contracted a kind of vivacity that did not suit the manners of an English court. She was naturally volatile, and in some cases childishly indiscreet: so that, in all probability, her heart was better than her understanding. She encouraged learning and genius, distributed great sums in alms, and died a sacrifice to the jealousy and intemperance of Henry, inflamed by the malicious suggestions of those who were enemies to the reformation, which she in a particular manner patronized.

Nothing justified Anne Boleyn so much as the conduct of the king, who on the very day that suc-

Hall,
Hollinghed.
Herbert,
Spelman,
Burnet.

A. C. 1536. Henry mar-
ries Jane
Seymour.

ceeded her execution, married Jane Seymour; so little regard did he pay to common decorum, and the opinion of his subjects, over whom he had by this time acquired the most despotic authority. The princess Mary, who had been harshly used by her father, on account of her attachment to her mother, and her obstinate refusal to conform to the statutes which had been lately enacted, was advised by her friends to sue for a reconciliation with the king at this juncture, when her sister Elizabeth was declared illegitimate. She accordingly wrote a very submissive letter to him, imploring his forgiveness for her former obstinacy; and promising for the future to obey him in all his directions. Henry, before he would readmit her into his favour, insisted upon her subscribing the act of supremacy, the renunciation of the bishop of Rome, and the invalidity of her mother's marriage. Mary used all her endeavours to be excused from a submission of this nature; but seeing the king inflexible, at length complied, and signed the articles, which were contrary to her conscience and persuasion. Elizabeth being in the fourth year of her age, was deprived of the title of Princess of Wales, which she had hitherto enjoyed; but Henry carefully superintended her education, and treated her on all occasions with parental affection.

The suc-
cession altered
by parlia-
ment.

A new parliament being assembled on the eighth day of June, enacted a statute reversing the former act of succession, declaring the children of the king's two first marriages illegitimate, and excluded for ever from the succession to the crown; confirming the condemnation of Anne Boleyn, adjudging the crown, after the king's death, to his issue by queen Jane, or any other wife he might afterwards espouse; empowering his majesty to regulate the manner in which they should succeed, either by will, or letters patent under the great seal;

seal; and declaring all those who should maintain the validity of his first marriages, guilty of high treason. Pope Paul III. when he was informed of Anne's fate, began to conceive hopes of seeing all that had been done against the papal power in England, revoked; and conferred with Casali on this subject. But, times were greatly altered since Henry discovered the least tendency to an accommodation with the see of Rome. He had now made himself absolute with the clergy as well as laity of his dominions; and he had no mind to part with any portion of his authority. In order to deprive the pope of all chance for retrieving his spiritual jurisdiction in England, this parliament passed an act, subjugating to the penalty of Premunire all those who should in any manner attempt to re-establish in England the authority of the bishop of Rome; and all magistrates who should neglect to put this law in execution. By another statute, they annulled and abolished all dispensations, exemptions, and privileges, derived from the court of Rome, saving, however, to the archbishop of Canterbury, the power of confirming what should be judged for the benefit of the church and people. A third prohibited marriage with any of the king's relations, unless permission should be previously granted. This act was passed in consequence of a stolen match between Thomas Howard brother to the duke of Norfolk, and Margaret Douglas the king's niece, who, together with her husband, was confined in the Tower for this presumption. A fourth law decreed, That an usurpation of parliament upon the king's authority, before he should have attained the age of four and twenty, might be annulled by letters patent under the great seal of England. In a word, one would imagine, that this parliament had met with no other view than that of extending the royal prerogative beyond the bounds within which it had been hitherto confined. Nor did the clergy yield to the parliament

A. C. 1536. liament in this kind of slavish complaisance. The convocation confirmed the sentence of divorce between the king and Anne Boleyn, upon the supposed precontract subsisting between that lady and the lord Piercy, though this nobleman had denied it upon oath in the most solemn manner.

New consti-
tutions
formed in
convoca-
on.

The lower house of convocation being averse to Cranmer, Cromwell, and those who favoured the reformation, and supposing that the persons whom Anne protected would now be involved in her ruin, sent to the upper house sixty-seven propositions, which they deemed heretical. At the same time, their deputies complained loudly against innovations in religion, and those by whom they were introduced, meaning Cranmer, Cromwell, Shaxton, and Latimer. They had, in their propositions, inserted many doctrines adopted by the Lutherans, ancient Lollards, and Anabaptists, insinuating, that the reformers professed them all equally. But, they were baffled in their expectation: Cranmer and Cromwell still maintained their places in Henry's favour, and the latter was created king's vicegerent in all ecclesiastical affairs. By Henry's order, he declared to the convocation, That the rites and ceremonies of the church should be reformed by the rules of scripture; and, in a few days, he presented to them a set of articles drawn up by the king himself, touching the religious doctrines, that the convocation might examine them, and make a faithful report of their deliberations on the subject. In this debate, the friends and enemies of the reformation declared themselves openly. Cranmer was seconded by Goodrick bishop of Ely, Shaxton of Salisbury, Latimer of Worcester, Barlow of St. David's, Fox of Hereford, and Hilsey of Rochester. At the head of the other party was Lee archbishop of York, supported by Stokesly of London, Tonstal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherburn of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite

Kite of Carlisle. These were secret partisans of the pope, with whom they hoped a reconciliation would one day be effected. But Cranmer and Cromwell had the king's ear, and persuaded him, that the abuses of which they demanded an abolition, directly tended to the support of papal usurpation. After warm debates, the convocation agreed to certain articles reduced into the form of constitutions, importing, That the holy scripture was the foundation of faith, together with the creed of the apostles, the Nicene, and that of Athanasius: That baptism was absolutely necessary, as well as penitence, comprehended in the three acts of contrition, auricular confession, and amendment of life: That the real body of Christ was present in the eucharist: That justification was acquired by regeneration, in contrition, faith, and charity: That images ought to be preserved in churches; but, that the worship should not be paid to the image, but to God himself: That the saints ought to be honoured, though without believing that they could grant what was in the gift of God alone: That they might nevertheless be invoked, without superstition, and their festivals observed; but, that some of these might be retrenched by the king's authority: That the customary ceremonies of the church should be retained; such as the priest's ornaments, holy water, consecrated bread, tapers on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday, prostrations before the cross on Good-Friday, hallowings of the font, exorcisms, and benedictions: That prayers should be put up for departed souls, and alms given for masses and exequies; but, as the place they were in, and the pains they suffered, had not been ascertained by scripture, they ought to be remitted wholly to God's mercy: That the ridiculous notions of purgatory should be exploded; such as that souls could be delivered from it by the

Herbert.
Burnet.

A. C. 1536. pope's pardon, or by masses said in certain places, or before particular images.

Henry summoned to a council at Mantua.

These constitutions, corrected in some places by the king's own hand, were signed by Cromwell, Cranmer, seventeen bishops, forty abbots or priors, and fifty archdeacons, or deputies from the lower house of convocation, among whom were two Italians, namely, Peter Vannes archdeacon of Worcester, and Polydore Virgil archdeacon of Wells, who wrote an history of England. Before the convocation broke up, the king imparted to the two houses, a citation he had received to a council, which the pope, in concert with the emperor, had assembled at Mantua. The clergy, having deliberated upon this subject, declared, That neither the pope, nor any prince upon earth, had power to convoke a general council without the consent of all the sovereigns in Christendom. Henry, satisfied with this decision, published a protest against the council of Mantua, declaring he could not look upon that as a free council which was assembled in a suspected place, where the bishop of Rome presided, and which could not be composed of any great number of prelates during the war between France and the emperor.

Rise of cardinal Pole.

About this time, Reginald Pole rendered himself universally famous for his taste and learning. He was descended from the duke of Clarence, and consequently related to the king, who resolved to raise him to the highest dignities of the church, bestowed upon him the deanery of Exeter, and sent him to finish his studies at Paris. He refused to concur with Henry's agents in procuring the subscriptions and seals of the French universities, in favour of the divorce, which he himself disapproved. He afterwards returned to England, and concurred with the clergy in acknowledging Henry supreme head of the church. Then he made a voyage to

Pa-

Padua, where he distinguished himself by his wit and eloquence, above all his contemporaries; and contracted an intimacy of friendship with the most eminent men and writers of that country. The king understanding, that he openly condemned him for his separation from the apostolic see, sent him a book written by doctor Sampson in defence of his proceedings. To this performance Pole wrote an answer, intitled *De unione ecclesiastica*, in which he reprehended the king in very severe terms, comparing him to Nebuchadonofor; and conjuring the emperor to turn his arms against him, rather than against any other infidel. Henry, though incensed at this presumption, dissembled his resentment, and desired he would come over to explain some passages in his book, which he did not rightly understand; but finding him upon his guard, he deprived him of all his dignities, and wreaked his revenge on Pole's family and kindred. The pope made up all his losses, and presented him with a cardinal's hat. But he did not rise above the degree of a deacon; nevertheless, he became more and more attached to the papal interests. A. C. 1536.
Hist. Reform.

The suppression of the small monasteries, though decreed in the first session of the parliament, did not take place till the month of August, when it produced great murmurs among the people. Many persons of distinction were dissatisfied at seizing the effects of those monasteries which their ancestors had founded. They saw themselves deprived of a great convenience which they enjoyed, while they could provide for their younger children in those convents; besides that of being hospitably entertained by the abbots and priors, when they had occasion to travel through the country. The poor had still greater reason to complain, because they lived upon the alms daily distributed by those religious houses: and superstitious people lamented that Murmurs occasioned by the suppression of monasteries.

A. C. 1536. that the souls of their friends would now continue in purgatory, since the prayers for the dead were abolished by the suppression of monasteries. In order to appease these discontents, the king, by the advice of Cromwell, sold the lands of the suppressed monasteries at a low price, on condition that the purchasers should maintain the practice of hospitality; and he re-established one and thirty convents, for the further satisfaction of the people: but even this condescension failed to produce the desired effect, though it reconciled many lay gentlemen to the measures which had been taken. Yet what the king gained by this expedient, he lost by another step, namely, that of publishing, in the name of his vicegerent, a set of injunctions for regulating the lives and conduct of ecclesiastics. This was the first pure act of the king's supremacy; for, in all the preceding transactions, he had the concurrence of the convocation. The clergy now looked upon themselves as slaves to a vicegerent. The great advantage they used to make by their images, relics, and pilgrimages, was taken away by these injunctions. They were loaded with severe impositions; a fifth part of their revenues was deducted for repairs; a tenth for exhibitioners, whom they were obliged to maintain; and a fortieth for charity: their labour was increased, and they were restrained to a life of severity. The secular clergy thus hampered, concurred with the regulars, in diffusing a spirit of discontent among the people; and they were secretly encouraged by the great abbots, who trembled at the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, on the supposition that their houses would meet with the same fate.

Insurrections in Lincolnshire and York-shire.

At length a flame of rebellion was kindled, and broke forth in Lincolnshire, where above twenty thousand persons assembled, under the conduct of doctor Makrel, prior of Barliam, disguised like a
cob-

cobler. They swore to be true to God, the king, A. C. 1536. and the commonwealth; and sent a petition to court, complaining, That many religious houses were suppressed, by the advice of some evil counsellors: That they laboured under some hardships in their secular concerns, from certain late acts of parliament: That some bishops had subverted the faith: That they apprehended the jewels and plate of their churches would be taken away. They intreated the king to assemble the nobility of the nation, and consult them touching these grievances; and they concluded with acknowledging him as supreme head of the church, to whom the tithes and first fruits of all livings justly belonged. The king published a very severe answer to this remonstrance, following the first dictates of his passionate temper and imperious disposition; and sent Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk against them, at the head of some forces. Though his answer served only to inflame the multitude, several persons of distinction entered into a private negotiation with the duke, assuring him, that they had joined the revolvers for no other purpose but to bring them by degrees to a sense of their duty; and that, if the king would indulge them with an amnesty, they would soon disperse without bloodshed. The duke wrote to the king on this subject; and Henry being informed of another insurrection in Yorkshire, published an amnesty in favour of the revolvers in Lincolnshire, who disbanded accordingly, though some of the number joined the rebellion in the county of York, which was much more dangerous than the other, because the effect of premeditation, and encouraged by many persons of consequence. It was headed by one Robert Aske, who had attempted to engage William lord Dacres of Gilleland, and several other gentlemen in the conspiracy, which was called a Pilgrimage of grace. The insurgents were
pre-

A. C. 1536. preceded by priests with crucifixes in their hands; and the passion of Christ was painted on their banners. They compelled all the freeholders in the neighbourhood either to join them, or fly the country. They re-established the monks who had been dispossessed. The commons of Richmond, Lancaster, Durham, and Westmoreland, rose in arms at the same juncture.

Progress of
Robert
Aske, chief
of the rebels.

The earl of Shrewsbury armed his vassals to oppose their progress, and was created king's lieutenant against the rebels; while the duke of Suffolk was ordered to remain in Lincolnshire to hinder any fresh commotion in that county. Several noblemen were commissioned to levy forces, and the king himself began to assemble an army to be commanded by the duke of Norfolk. During these preparations, Aske reduced the castle of Pontefract, into which the archbishop of York and the lord Darcy had thrown themselves. He afterwards made himself master of Hull and York, and obliged all the nobility of those parts to join his army. Lancaster, the herald, being sent to this demagogue with a proclamation, found him sitting in state between the archbishop and Darcy, who had taken his oath upon compulsion; importing, That they should engage in this pilgrimage of grace for the love of God, and preservation of the king's person and issue; the purification of the nobility, the expulsion of base blood and evil counsellors, the restitution of the church, and the suppression of heretics. Aske being informed of the contents of the proclamation, would not suffer it to be read in public; but granted a safe-conduct to the herald, in consideration of his office. He required Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, to surrender his castle of Skipton, and join his forces; but that nobleman refused to comply with his demand, although he was forsaken by five hundred gentlemen, whom he retain-

tained at his own expence. Then the rebels besieged Sir Ralph Ewers in the castle of Scarborough, which he gallantly defended; though he and his garrison tasted no other food for twenty-four days but simple bread and water. Henry, seeing this affair become every day more and more serious, sent the duke of Norfolk and the marquiss of Exeter, with some troops levied in haste, to join the earl of Shrewsbury; but even after the junction, they were not able to face the enemy, who advanced against them to the number of thirty thousand men; and, in all probability, would have attacked them at Doncaster, had not the river been so swelled by heavy rains that they could not ford it, and the bridge so strongly fortified, that they had no prospect of carrying it by assault.

The duke of Norfolk who favoured them in his heart, was not sorry to find himself unable to attack them: he maintained a private intelligence with some of their chiefs; and, by his advice, they presented a humble petition to the king, which the duke engaged to deliver, and support with his interest; but, in the mean time, he insisted upon a cessation of hostilities, to which they agreed. Perceiving however that Henry, instead of answering their petition, endeavoured to sow division among them by his emissaries, they resolved to attack his army without further delay; but were once more prevented by the rain, which rendered the river impassable. Then the king proposed they should send three hundred deputies to meet his commissioners at Doncaster; and the duke of Norfolk returning to that place, gave them to understand he had procured an amnesty in their favour, from which however ten were excepted; six of these by name, and the other four to be pitched upon by his majesty. This indulgence they rejected, but sent their three hundred deputies to Doncaster; and as

Negotiation
with the in-
surgents.

A.C. 1536. they knew the king's intention was to gain time by protracting the negotiation, and that he hoped such a number of deputies would not agree among themselves, they furnished them with instructions in writing, containing certain proposals, from which they were not at liberty to recede. They demanded a general pardon without exception: That the king should convoke a parliament at York, and establish a court of justice in the North: That the inhabitants of those parts should not be obliged to prosecute their law-suits in London: That certain laws, lately made to the grievance of the people, should be repealed: That the princess Mary should be declared legitimate, and the pope's authority re-established on the ancient footing: That the monasteries which had been suppressed should be restored to their former condition: That the Lutherans and all innovators in religion should be severely punished: That Thomas Cromwell and the chancellor should be expelled from the crown and parliament; and, That Lee and Leighton, the commissioners for the suppression of monasteries, should be imprisoned, and obliged to give account of their violence and extortion.

These demands were rejected by the king's commissioners; and the conference proved ineffectual: but the duke of Norfolk, being equally afraid of their ruin and success against the troops he commanded, wrote a letter to the king, representing that the number of the rebels daily increased; and, that as he was in no condition to oppose them, it would be necessary to give them some sort of satisfaction. Henry forthwith impowered him to offer a general amnesty without exception, and to promise in his name that the next parliament should be held in the North. These terms were accepted by the chiefs of the insurgents; and the accommodation being concluded, they dispersed to their own homes,

The king grants an amnesty, and they disperse.

homes, to the inexpressible dissatisfaction of the monks and fanatics, who nevertheless still continued to cherish among them the spirit of revolt.

A. C. 1535.
Herbert.
Burnet.

While these events engrossed the attention of the English monarch, a new rupture happened between the emperor and the king of France. Charles, on his return from Africa, continued to amuse Francis with a negotiation; insinuating that he would cede the dutchy of Milan in favour of his third son, the duke of Angouleme, on certain conditions: but, as he wavered in his proposals, Francis ordered his general to suspend all hostilities in Piedmont, and sent the cardinal of Lorraine, as his ambassador, to demand a categorical answer of the emperor, who had repaired to Rome. There, in a public consistory, he declaimed against the king of France as the sole author of all the wars which had afflicted Europe since his accession to the throne; and observed, that instead of shedding so much innocent blood, he would have acted more like a christian prince in deciding the quarrel with Charles by a sword and poignard, in some boat or island. Next day, the French ambassador desired to know if his intention was to challenge his master in single-combat; but he replied in the negative, saying, his meaning was that the French king ought to have accepted the expedient when it was at first proposed. The cardinal soon perceived that Charles had no intention to bestow the dutchy of Milan on a prince of the house of France; and wrote to Francis that he had nothing to expect but war from the emperor. He had already projected the scheme of an invasion against France, and began to assemble three armies; one to act in Piedmont under his own command; another in Picardy, and a third in Champagne. Francis being apprized of his design, recalled the greatest part of his troops from Piedmont, after having left strong garrisons in Turin

The emperor
invades
the French
dominions.

A. C. 1536. and the other places he had conquered. The French forces had no sooner quitted Piedmont than Charles invested Turin, and, during the siege, entered Provence at the head of a numerous army; while Francis, having provided for the defence of Marseilles, ordered two camps to be fortified, one at Cavaillon, under the command of the marechal de Montmorency, and the other at Valence, where he was made acquainted with the death of his eldest son the dauphin, who had been poisoned by Montecuculli. The emperor, having reduced Aix, undertook the siege of Marseilles, which however he was obliged to raise; and, for want of provision, retreated in great disorder towards Genoa, where he embarked for Spain. In the mean time, the count de Nassau fell into Picardy with thirty thousand men, took Guise by assault, and besieged Peronne, which was relieved by the duke of Guise. Francis, in his return to Paris, was met by James V. king of Scotland, who demanded his daughter Madelaine in marriage, and the nuptials were solemnized in January.

Du Bellay.
Mezerai.
Buchanan.

James king
of Scotland
espoused
Madelaine,
daughter of
Francis.

A. C. 1537.

England was still agitated by the remains of the last storm in the North. The king had no intention to keep his word with the rebels; but ordered the duke of Norfolk to continue in arms among them, to be a check upon their conduct, and to exact the oath of supremacy, which was administered to persons of all ranks and conditions. Aske was ordered to repair to court, where he at first met with a civil reception; but the lord Darcy was sent to the Tower as soon as he arrived at London. The discontents among the people of the North soon broke out again in open rebellion: two gentlemen, called Musgrave and Tilby, putting themselves at the head of eight thousand malcontents, made an attempt upon Carlisle; from whence they were repulsed, and afterwards entirely rout-

Another in-
surrection
in the
North.

routed by the duke of Norfolk. Musgrave escaped; but Tilby, with seventy of his followers, were taken and hanged upon the walls of Carlisle. Another body, commanded by Sir Francis Bigot, and one Hullam, endeavoured to surprise Hull, but were also taken and executed. These enterprizes exasperated the ferocious temper of the king to such a degree, that he commanded Aske and the lord Darcy to be put to death, on pretence of a conspiracy, for which likewise the lord Hussey and many persons of distinction suffered, notwithstanding the amnesty which had been granted. The Lord Darcy, during his imprisonment, accused the duke of Norfolk of having favoured the rebels at Doncaster. The duke denied the charge, which he imputed to malice, and offered to clear himself by single combat; but the king, whether convinced of his innocence, or unwilling to deal severely with such a powerful nobleman, declared himself satisfied with his conduct. By this time Henry's disposition was so savaged, that he became terrible to his subjects: not satisfied with the blood he had shed, he ordered Thomas Fitzgerald, son to the earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles, who had surrendered to lord Gray on promise of pardon, and been long detained in prison, to be hanged at Tyburn; but the younger son of Kildare escaped by being packed up in a bundle of cloaths, and was conveyed to Ireland, from whence he sailed to France; and, finding himself unsafe in that kingdom, took refuge with cardinal Pole, who was his kinsman, and received him with great hospitality. The king, having quelled the rebellion in Ireland, commanded the parliament in that kingdom to pass divers statutes against the pope's authority, for the establishment of the succession, the use of the English language, and the suppression of certain monasteries.

A. C. 1537.

Henry becomes more cruel.

A. C. 1537.

Birth of
prince Ed-
ward.

Polyd. Vir.

State of af-
fairs in Ger-
many and
Scotland.

Buchanan.

On the twelfth day of October, the queen was delivered at Hampton-court of a prince, who was christened by the name of Edward; and, though the mother died in two days after the birth, Henry was overjoyed at this event, which not only gratified his vanity, but removed all doubts about the succession. In six days after this child was born, the king created him prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. At the same time, the queen's brother, Sir Edward Seymour, lately made lord Beauchamp, was created earl of Hertford; Sir William Fitzwilliams honoured with the title of earl of Southampton; in the month of March, Sir William Paulet, treasurer of the household, was created lord St. John; and Sir John Russell, comptroller, dignified with the title of lord Russell. In the course of this year, James V. of Scotland, in his return from France with his young queen, touching on the coast of England, had been solicited by a great number of the natives to take up arms against the tyrant Henry; but he declined embracing their proposals, and arrived at Edinburgh, where his queen soon died of a hectic fever: then he sent ambassadors to France to demand in marriage Mary, sister of the duke of Guise, and cardinal of Lorraine, whom he actually espoused in the sequel. During these transactions, the protestants in Germany were still persecuted by the intrigues of the emperor and his brother Ferdinand king of the Romans. The council, convoked at Mantua, was a step directly contrary to the promise Charles had made of assembling one in Germany: and the Lutherans complained of this breach of promise, refusing to submit to the decisions of a council in which the pope presided. The emperor, whose scheme was to crush them by force of arms, endeavoured to amuse them with delusive answers, until he

he should be in a condition to declare his designs. A. C. 1537.
 That he might be enabled to execute it with the Sleidan.
 fairer prospect of success, he concluded a truce
 with Francis, and negotiated for a peace, in hope
 of detaching the French king from the league of
 Smalcalde. Mean while the pope, postponing
 the opening of the council from May to November,
 directed the cardinals Contarini, Sadolet, Polus,
 and Bembo, to inquire into such abuses of the
 church as required reformation. They found no-
 thing amiss in point of doctrine; and, with re-
 spect to discipline, made out a list of divers trifling
 irregularities, which, in their opinion, deserved
 to be reformed.

Henry had been so provoked by the ill offices Total sup-
pression of
the mona-
steries.
 of the monks, who stirred up the late insurrections,
 that he resolved to suppress all the monasteries in
 England, without exception; his resolution being
 in this particular influenced by his interest as well
 as his resentment, for he already grasped in idea
 the rents and riches of all the convents and religi-
 ous houses. To pave the way for this total disso- A. C. 153
 lution, he ordered another minute visitation, that
 he might be able to remove the prejudices of the
 people, by divulging the enormities committed in
 those receptacles of vice; and such scenes were
 brought to light, as could not fail to excite the sur-
 prize and abhorrence of the public. A great num-
 ber of monks, and even some abbots and priors,
 were convicted of holding correspondence with the
 rebels, and executed as traitors. Many compro-
 mised for their lives, by resigning their houses into
 the king's hands; some gave up their monasteries
 from motives of conscience; others to avoid pu-
 nishment and disgrace; but all of them received
 pensions for their subsistence. Had nothing ap-
 peared against those religious foundations but the
 vice and profligacy of the abbots, abbeesses nuns,
 E 4 and

A. C. 1538. and friars, the people would have naturally thought that the institution, which was good in itself, ought not to have been abolished, for the corruption of the members, who might have been changed and reformed. But the king chose a more effectual expedient, in opening the eyes of the people with respect to the pretended sanctity of relics, images, and all the other trumpery of superstition. The visitors were instructed to examine, and, if possible, discover the arts by which the minds of the vulgar were infatuated; and then the whole machinery of monkish imposture was detected: not but that the scandalous vices practised in convents were likewise published, in order to undeceive the nation. The impurities of Sodom and Gomorrah are said to have been exceeded in Battel-abbey, Christ-church in Canterbury, and several other convents. They found innumerable instances of whoredom, adultery, onanism, and other unnatural lusts and beastly practices; with arts to prevent conception and procure abortion among the nuns who were debauched. With respect to monkish idolatry and deceit, Reading seems to have been the repository of the nation. There the visitors found an angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the spear which pierced the side of Jesus Christ, with such an inventory of other relics as filled up four sheets of paper. At St. Edmundsbury they seized some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence, the parings of St. Edmund's toes, the penknife and boots of St. Thomas Becket, a great quantity of the real cross, and certain relics to prevent rain and the generation of weeds among corn. The house of Westacre had pawned a finger of St. Andrew for forty pounds; but this the visitors did not think proper to redeem. There was a crucifix at Boxley in Kent, distinguished by the appellation of the Rood of Grace, which had been long in reputation,

tation, because it had been seen to bend and raise itself, shake the head, hands, and feet, roll the eyes, and move the lips. This puppet, being brought to London, was broke in pieces in sight of the people at St. Paul's cross, where, with their own eyes they saw the springs by which it had been actuated. At Hales in Gloucestershire the monks had carried on a profitable traffic with the blood of Christ in a chrystal vial: sometimes this blood appeared, and sometimes was invisible, according to the faith or holiness of the spectator. This relic was no other than the blood of a duck renewed weekly, and put in a vial; one side of which was thin and transparent, and the other thick and impervious to the rays of light: it was placed near the altar, so as to be turned occasionally by those spiritual jugglers, according to the bounty of the pilgrim, or votary, by whom it was adored. The visitor for Wales sent up to London a huge image of wood called Dawel Gatheren, to which incredible numbers of pilgrims resorted, on the supposition that it had power to deliver souls from hell. This idol served for fuel to burn friar Forrest in Smithfield; and another famous image of our Lady at Worcester was found to be the statue of a bishop, disguised with veils and other ornaments. Another, in the bishopric of St. David's, with a taper which was said to have continued burning nine years, with many rich shrines belonging to our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, and of Ilington, were committed to the flames by order of the vicegerent. That of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury excelled all the others in magnificence, and opinion of sanctity: vast numbers of pilgrims resorted to it from all quarters, and even preferred it to those of Christ and the Blessed Virgin; for, in one year, the offerings at the altar of Christ and his mother did not exceed four pounds; and those at the shrine of St.

Thomas

A.C. 1538. Thomas amounted to nine hundred and fifty-four. Lewis VII. of France had visited and presented at it a jewel that was deemed the richest in Europe. Not contented with one festival in the year, they kept the anniversary of his translation as an holiday; and, in every fiftieth year, there was a jubilee for fifteen days, during which, indulgencies were granted to all those who came to visit his shrine. The skull, which they worshipped as the saint's, had never belonged to him; for the true skull was found lying in the grave with the rest of his bones. The shrine was now broken down and carried away, together with the gold that adorned it, which filled two large chests that eight strong men could hardly carry out of the church. The king ordered his bones to be burned, his name expunged from the calendar, and the office for his festival to be struck out of the breviary. A convocation meeting took into consideration the articles which had been published in the preceding year, and given great offence; and, at the conclusion of their session, they printed an explanation of the Creed, the seven Sacraments, the ten Commandments, the Lord's prayer, the salutation of the Virgin, with the doctrines of Justification and Purgatory.

When Henry's proceedings were known at Rome, that city was filled with satires and libels against his person and conduct. He was branded as the most infamous and sacrilegious tyrant that ever existed. They accused him of violating the ashes of the dead, which even the heathens had revered; with waging war against heaven and the saints; with sacrificing consecrated priests to his savage cruelty and revenge; with pilfering all that the devotion of former ages had dedicated to God and his service. They compared him to Belshazzar, Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian, and especially to Julian the apostate, whom he resembled in his

his learning and apostacy, though he fell short of A. C. 1552. him in his morals. Henry had spies at Rome, who gave him to understand that the intelligence from England was generally sent to cardinal Pole. That prelate's pen being still recognized in some of the keenest satires, Henry conceived such an implacable resentment against him as he had never harboured against any other person; and wreaked his revenge on the cardinal's family. Pope Paul III. now published the bull against Henry which he had hitherto suspended; he endeavoured to instigate all christian princes against him, and even offered the kingdom of England to James king of Scotland.

The pope publishes the bull against Henry.

Henry, being made acquainted with the publication of this bull, exacted of the bishops and abbots a new oath, by which they renounced the pope's authority; and a new translation of the Bible, printed at London, being presented to him by Cromwell, he permitted it to be distributed through all the principal churches of the kingdom. About the same time, he ordered the clergy to read the Lord's prayer, the confession of Faith, and the ten Commandments, in English. They were directed to recommend good works, and teach the people, that relics, rosaries, and such trompery, were unnecessary to salvation. All the images to which devotees made offerings were pulled down, all the tapers were taken away, except those that burned before the representation of Christ; and he suppressed all the invocations of *Ora pro nobis*, added to the prayers addressed to saints.

A new ordinance against popery in England.

Although this ordinance was a mortal blow to the old religion, the king was now so absolute, that no person would venture to express the least disapprobation. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had by this time returned from France: he detested the reformation in his heart, was suspected of having

re-

A. C. 1538. reconciled himself privately to the pope; and of carrying on a correspondence with the emperor. Nevertheless, he disssembled in such a manner, that the king, who despised his intellects, had no doubt of his fidelity; and even bestowed upon him some degree of his confidence, on account of his complaisance and submission. As he seemed to enter into all the king's measures with the utmost zeal of obedience, Henry willingly listened to him in his suggestions against the sacramentarians, or those who denied the real presence in the eucharist, especially as this was a doctrine to which the king himself was firmly attached. Gardiner imagined, that the zeal of those who favoured the reformation, when persecuted, would irritate the temper of the king, who was impatient of contradiction; and that he would crush them during the prevalence of his indignation. The bishop carried his point so far as to raise a persecution against the sacramentarians, one of whom, called John Nicholson, alias Lambert, suffered death as an heretic. He had been minister of the English company at Antwerp, from which office he was dismissed on account of his belief. He afterwards kept a school at London; and hearing doctor Taylor preach upon the real presence in the sacrament, presented him with his reasons for contradicting that doctrine. The paper was carried to Cranmer, who was then of Luther's opinion in that article, and endeavoured to convince Lambert of his error. But, this last appealed to the king, who undertook to confute him in Westminster-Hall, before the bishops, nobility, and judges of the realm. A sham dispute was accordingly maintained by Henry, seconded by all his prelates, who extolled his learning with the most extravagant encomiums. Lambert was brow-beaten, confounded, and convicted of heresy: but, he chose to resign his life, rather than part with his

The king
persecutes
the sacra-
mentarians.

Lambert
burnt for
heresy.

his opinion; and was burned at Smithfield, with horrid circumstances of barbarity. The adulation of the learned inspired the king with such an opinion of his own ability, as proved equally fatal to both parties; for, he now resolved to punish rigorously all those who should presume to differ from him in point of opinion, without making any distinction between papist and reformer. Understanding that the emperor had concluded a truce for ten years with the king of France, he endeavoured to profit by his negotiation with the League of Smalcalde; and desired them to send over theologicians to confer with him concerning the points in which he differed from those of their communion. They dispatched ambassadors to England for that purpose; but, as they insisted upon his embracing the confession of Augsberg, and would not give up one tittle of their belief, touching the communion in one species, private masses, auricular confession, and the celibacy of priests, all which articles they renounced, he was obliged to dismiss them without coming to any resolution.

Herbert.

The interest of the reformed religion in England began to decline sensibly at court, since the death of the queen, who, as well as her predecessor, had favoured its progress. Cranmer still kept his footing in the king's good graces, by dint of personal merit; but, Cromwell is said to have minded his own interest, rather than that of religion: Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, was proud and litigious: Latimer, of Worcester, was weak and simple: Barlow, of St. Asaph, shallow and imprudent: and the other preachers of the new religion were generally enthusiasts, who suffered themselves to be hurried away by an intemperate zeal, which payed no respect to the temper and character of Henry; and consequently never failed to incur his indignation. About this time they flattered themselves they

Du Bellay.

A. C. 1538. they had gained an accession of strength in the promotion of Bonner to the see of Hereford, vacant by the death of Edward Fox : but, they were grievously disappointed ; for, that prelate, notwithstanding the obligations he had been laid under by the chiefs of the reformation, became one of their most rancorous enemies. At the death of Stokely, he was afterwards advanced to the see of London. Cromwell and Cranmer perceiving that their credit began to diminish, thought there was no method so likely to retrieve their influence at court, as that of persuading the king to marry another wife, upon whose protection they might depend. With this view they turned their eyes to Germany ; and Cromwell undertook to negotiate a match between Henry, and Anne sister to the duke of Cleves and to the dutchess of Saxony.

Cromwell
projects
another
match for
the king.

Herbert.

By this time the pope had effected an interview at Nice, between the emperor and the king of France, who, though they could not agree to a treaty of peace, concluded a truce for ten years ; and then pope Paul engaged in a league against the Turks, with the emperor, the king of the Romans, and the Venetians. Francis having nothing further to fear from Charles, cooled sensibly in his friendship towards Henry, who resented his indifference, and ordered Bonner, in his return from Spain, to demand of him an English rebel who had taken refuge in France, together with the arrears of his pension. Bonner made those demands in such insolent terms, that Francis, by an express courier, desired Henry to recal him ; and so far the king complied with his request. Mean while, cardinal Pole, not satisfied with having reviled the character of Henry, by word and writing, maintained a private correspondence in England ; and was even said to aspire at the crown, through a marriage with the princess Mary. His correspondence was discovered

discovered to the king by Sir Geoffery de la Pole, his own kinsman; and in consequence of this information, Henry Courtney marquis of Exeter, grandson of Edward IV. Henry de la Pole lord Montague, Sir Edward Nevil, and Sir Nicholas Carew knight of the garter, were tried, convicted, and executed for high-treason.

A. C. 1518.

Several noblemen beheaded for high treason.

Herbert.

The king having extorted resignations from all the abbots and priors of monasteries, acquired a vast accession of revenue, not only by the rents of those houses, but also by their moveables, clocks, bells, lead, and other materials; for, notwithstanding the industry which the monks, and their superiors, exerted in pillaging their churches and convents, when they found themselves on the brink of being suppressed, a great quantity of rich moveables still remained; inasmuch, that in the abbey of St. Edmundsbury, the king found to the value of five thousand marks in gold and silver bullion. The parliament being assembled on the twenty-eighth day of April, and being properly tutored by the king, enacted the law of the Six articles, commonly called the Bloody statute, denouncing death against all those who should deny transubstantiation; maintain the necessity of communicating in both species; affirm, that it was lawful for priests to marry; that the vows of chastity might be violated; that private masses were useless; and, that auricular confessions were not necessary to salvation. That statute was suggested by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who told the king, that nothing would more effectually prevent the formation of a league against him: that he had not altered the essentials of religion: and, that no potentate or person could believe him an heretic while he maintained these six articles, which so signally distinguished the true catholics from sectaries and innovators. Cranmer opposed this statute in parliament for three days successively;

A. C. 1539.

Transactions in parliament. The statute of blood.

A.C. 1519

successively ; but as soon as the bill passed, he sent his wife abroad to Germany, of which she was a native. Henry, in order to reconcile the people to the suppression of the monasteries, pretended he had undoubted intelligence of an intention to invade England, visited the sea-coasts in person, and began to build bulwarks for the defence of the kingdom, as well as a navy to protect commerce ; declaring, that all this extraordinary expence would be defrayed by the revenues of the monasteries, without any additional tax upon the people. The parliament, which was intirely devoted to his will, confirmed him in possession of those houses, on the supposition that he would employ their income in other religious foundations ; and by another statute impowered him to erect some new bishoprics.

Camden. The number of monasteries suppressed in England and Wales, amounted to six hundred and forty-five : ninety colleges were destroyed, together with two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free-chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals : the yearly revenue of the whole being equal to one hundred and sixty-one thousand and one hundred pounds. Henry from this fund augmented the number of colleges and professors in the universities, erected the bishoprics of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester : that of Westminster was dissolved by queen Mary, and Benedictines placed in the abbey ; but queen Elizabeth afterwards converted it to a collegiate church, and a seminary for young scholars.

Burnet. In this session of parliament an act was passed, decreeing, that the same obedience should be payed to the king's proclamation, or an order of council during a minority, as was due to an act of parliament ; but, this under certain limitations. Another statute regulated the rank of the nobility ; and Cromwell, though the son of a blacksmith, obtained

tained the first place immediately after the princes of the blood. Then the session confirmed the sentence pronounced against the marquiss of Exeter, and the rest who had been executed for carrying on a correspondence with cardinal Pole: and for the same offence, condemned the cardinal's mother the countess of Salisbury, and the marchioness of Exeter, without allowing them to plead in their own defence, though they were both princesses of the blood royal. The king granted a pardon in favour of the marchioness, and a reprieve to the countess, who nevertheless died afterwards on a scaffold.

Henry still esteemed Cranmer for his conscientious behaviour, though he opposed the statute of the six articles; and sent the duke of Norfolk to assure him of the continuation of his affection. He afterwards discoursed with him upon that law; and allowed him to explain the reasons that induced him to oppose it. He even ordered him to commit these reasons to writing, though such a step was rendered capital by the statute. Cranmer accordingly drew up a memorial on the subject, which being lost by accident fell into the hands of a person who would have delivered it to the king, had he not been prevented by Cromwell. Shaxton bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester, who had likewise opposed the articles, were not so favourably dealt with. In order to appease the king's resentment, which they had incurred, they thought proper to resign their bishoprics; but, they had no sooner made this sacrifice, than they were accused of harbouring sentiments contrary to the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower of London. When the session of parliament broke up, the king appointed commissioners devoted to the catholic religion, and sent them through the kingdom to discover all those who condemned the six articles, that they might be

A. C. 1539.

A&C. Pub.

Persecution
in England.

A. C. 1539. punished with all the rigour of the law. In London alone, above five hundred persons were imprisoned on this account, after having been inveigled into confession by the commissioners; but, the chancellor represented the pernicious consequences of such a persecution, in such pathetic terms to the king, that he pardoned all those who had been apprehended; and put a stop for the present to all further enquiry. The king's will was now become the measure of the law, because both parties cultivated his favour with the most abject complaisance. Bonner bishop of London, though in secret a zealous partisan of the papal power, managed his interest with such dexterity, that he obtained letters patent, adjudging to him the spiritualities as well as the temporalities of his bishopric, during the king's good pleasure; and Gardiner still maintained his influence by the most extravagant complaisance, and the most profound dissimulation.

Sleidan.
Herbert.

Henry foreseeing a rupture between the emperor and the protestants of Germany, sent new ambassadors to the league of Smalcalde, to encourage them in their opposition to the house of Austria; and to promise he would engage in their association. They perceived his drift was only to amuse them, and intimidate the emperor by means of a negotiation with his enemies; and they frankly gave him to understand, that they would unite with him on no other terms, than that of his embracing the confession of Augsberg. They said, they had heard with great mortification of his persecuting their brethren in his kingdom; and in particular, complained of the law of the six articles, the injustice of which Melancthon explained to him in a submissive letter. Henry was shocked at the freedom of their expostulation; and Gardiner, by flattering his vanity, added fuel to his resentment. It was not in his power, however, to

prevent an incident which in a great measure forwarded the reformation. Though the king was in possession of the supremacy, he could not be satisfied until the people should be convinced of his right to that preheminance; and Cranmer knowing his anxiety on this subject, told him, that nothing would contribute to their undeception, more than a free use of the scriptures, by which they would see that the pope's authority was not founded on the word of God. Henry no sooner signified his approbation of this proposal, than Gardiner employed all his art and rhetoric, to prevent such a fatal blow to the catholic religion. The two prelates disputed on the subject in presence of the king, who decided in favour of Cranmer, telling the other, he was but a novice, who ought not to enter the lists with such an experienced general. The truth is, he thought his own interest coincided with Cranmer's propositions. He granted letters patent to Cromwell as his vicegerent, importing, That his subjects should have free and liberal use of the Bible translated into the English tongue; and that for five years there should be no impression of the Bible or any part of it, but only by such as he should appoint. Towards the end of this year, the inhabitants of Ghent mutinied, and offered to acknowledge the French king as their sovereign, if he would protect them from the resentment of the emperor. But Francis rejected their proposal, which he communicated to Charles, who had by this time amused him so effectually with the promise of restoring to him the dutchy of Milan, that Charles ventured to pass through his dominions on the faith of a simple safe-conduct, and even visited him at Paris, where he was received with the same honours which the French paid to their own sovereign.

A. C. 1539.

Act. Pao.

The king permits the Bible to be translated.

Burnet.

A. C. 1539.

At this very period, Anne of Cleves arrived in England, after the match between her and Henry had been concluded, under the direction of Cromwell. The king no sooner heard she had landed at Rochester, than he went thither incognito, to see his future consort, and found her so different from her picture, which had been drawn by Hans Holbein, that in the impatience of his disappointment, he swore they had brought him a Flanders mare. Nevertheless, reflecting that her brother the duke of Cleves was the emperor's neighbour in the Low Countries, and his competitor for the succession to the dutchy of Guelderland; that her sister was married to the duke of Saxony, chief of the league of Smalcalde; and that the emperor was then at Paris, endeavouring to detach Francis from the interests of England; he would not run the risque of affronting two such powerful princes, at a time when he might stand in need of their assistance; and therefore he married the princess on the sixth day of January. Next day Cromwell asked him how he liked his new bed-fellow; and he declared to him in confidence, that he liked her worse than ever; that he suspected she was no maid; that she had unfavoury smells about her; and, that he believed he should never be able to consummate his nuptials. Yet he lived decently with her for five months, during which his aversion seemed to increase; though she did not appear much afflicted at his disgust. She was naturally dull and phlegmatic; altogether unskilled in music, which was always agreeable to Henry; and ignorant of the English language, in which however, she soon became a proficient.

Ibid.

Henry weds
Anne of
Cleves.

A. C. 1540.

The parliament meeting on the twelfth day of April, Cromwell opened the session with a speech, in which he informed the two houses, that the king, in order to terminate all disputes about religion,

gion, had appointed commissioners to examine the contested articles, that a standard of faith might be established upon the word of God alone; and, that after the truth should be thus made known to his people, he was resolved to punish without mercy all those who should presume to prefer their own opinions to the established articles of belief. Those commissioners being approved by the parliament, received orders to begin their enquiry without delay: and, in the mean time, the king created Cromwell earl of Essex. In this session, the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem was suppressed, on pretence of their dependence on the pope and the emperor: and all their effects in England and Ireland confiscated for the use of the king, who allotted three thousand pounds yearly for their maintenance.

A. C. 1540.

He appoints commissioners to examine the contested doctrines of religion.

Creates Cromwell earl of Essex.

Immediately after the prorogation of this parliament, the fall of Cromwell was decreed. He was hated and envied as an upstart by the nobility in general, and detested by all the Roman catholics, as the inveterate enemy of their religion. The king had expressed great dissatisfaction at his conduct in effecting this disagreeable marriage; and the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner did not fail to inflame his discontent. They represented, that the kingdom was filled with malcontents on the score of religion; that they looked upon the vicegerent as author of all those measures which they disapproved; that Cromwell had deceived his majesty in the affair of his marriage; that he had raised an immense fortune by oppression; and that the king, by sacrificing him to the resentment of the public, would entirely conciliate the affections of his people. This last argument had great weight with Henry, who was really incensed in his heart against Cromwell, and thought he had no further use for his service in treating with the league of Smalcald, as he had by this time determined to make peace with the emperor, who he foresaw would

Herbert.

A. C. 1540. break with Francis about the dutchy of Milan. On these considerations, he gave up Cromwell to the revenge of his enemies. Upon the meeting of the parliament, the duke of Norfolk, at the council-table, arrested the earl of Essex, in the king's name, for high treason; and he was immediately sent prisoner to the Tower. His disgrace was no sooner known, than all his friends forsook him, except Cranmer, who wrote such a letter to Henry in his behalf, as no other man in the kingdom would have presumed to indite; but it produced no effect in favour of the unfortunate Cromwell, who, without being heard in his own defence, was by a bill of attainder found guilty of divers heresies and treasons; and condemned to suffer the pains of death, as the king should think proper to direct.

Cromwell is
attainted of
high trea-
son.

Divorce be-
tween the
king and
Anne of
Cleves.

The fall of Cromwell was immediately followed by the dissolution of the marriage between Henry and his new wife: a dissolution on which he had set his heart, not only on account of his aversion to Anne of Cleves, but also because he was by this time enamoured of Catherine Howard, daughter to lord Edmund, brother to the present duke of Norfolk. The whole house of lords, with a committee of the commons, waited upon the king with an address, desiring he would order trial to be made of the validity of his marriage; and his majesty complying with their request, a commission was granted for trying it in convocation. They forthwith proceeded to the examination of witnesses, including the depositions of the king and members of the privy-council; a declaration under the hand of Cromwell, signed in the Tower; the evidence of the earl of Southampton; the lord Russel, at that time admiral; Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Anthony Denny, doctors Chambers and Butts the queen's physicians, and some ladies of the chamber. The substance of the whole amounted to these particulars; That there had been a pre-contract between

tween the queen and the marquis of Lorraine : that A. C. 1540. it did not appear whether these spousals were made by the parties themselves, or in the words of the present tense : that the king having married her against his will, had not given a pure, inward, and complete consent : and, that he had never consummated the marriage. These frivolous objections were strongly insisted upon by the popish party, and Cranmer being influenced by the fear of his life, yielded his assent ; so that the convocation unanimously judged the marriage null ; and on the ninth day of July, sentence was given for its dissolution. On the tenth day of July, this sentence was notified to both houses, by whom it was approved ; then the king sent the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Winchester, to intimate the transaction to Anne of Cleves, who expressed no sort of dissatisfaction at the divorce. Act. Pub. They told her the king would, by letters-patent declare her his adopted sister, give her precedence before all the ladies in England but his own wife and daughter ; that an estate of three thousand pounds a year would be allotted for her maintenance ; and, that she might either live in England, or return to her own country. She chose to live in England, and was prevailed upon to write a letter to her brother, approving what had been done. Then the bill for annulling the marriage passed both houses without the least opposition.

This important affair being terminated, the parliament, by a new act, mitigated the penalties in one of the six articles of the statute of blood, relating to ecclesiastics who should violate their vows of chastity. The commissioners appointed by the king to examine the doctrines of religion, having drawn up a long report on that subject, a statute was enacted, implying, That their report should have the force of a law, as well as every thing that

Transacti-
ons in par-
liament.

A. C. 1540. the king should ordain on the subject of religion. Thus, they vested in the king, that infallibility of which they had deprived the pope. This compliant parliament gave away the liberties of the nation in every respect; they first made the king absolute master of their lives and fortunes, and now they subjected their consciences to his will and pleasure; but this last act they clogged with a contradiction, in these words, Provided nothing should be done contrary to the laws of the realm. They passed another act, ordaining that a marriage, already consummated, should not be dissolved on account of a pre-contract, or any other hindrances than those of the divine law. This statute, which so palpably contradicted the king's own conduct in the cases of his wives, was intended as a previous step towards the legitimation of the princess Elizabeth, and his marriage with Catherine Howard. The convocation of the clergy in the province of Canterbury, granted one fifth of their revenues, payable in five years to the king, as a mark of their gratitude for the pains he had taken to deliver the English church from papal tyranny. Notwithstanding this ample gratification, the king demanded a subsidy from parliament; and tho' the members had been so long accustomed to behave towards him with the most servile complaisance, they could not help expressing their surprize at this demand, considering the tranquillity of the times, and the great sums the king had derived from the dissolution of the monasteries. Warm debates were maintained on this subject in the house of commons: but the partisans of the court representing the great expence the king had incurred by putting the sea-coast in a posture of defence, the majority acquiesced in this reason, and voted a very considerable subsidy.

This

This condescending parliament was closed with an act of amnesty; from the benefit of which, however, the countess of Salisbury, and Cromwell, were excluded, as well as those who were convicted of having denied the king's supremacy, or of having violated any of the articles in the statute of blood. Cromwell's fortitude seemed to forsake him when he was arrested: being required to send to the king a full account of his transactions in the marriage, he concluded his letter in the most abject manner. He subscribed himself a most woeful prisoner, ready to take the death, when it should please God and his majesty; yet (he said) the frail flesh incited him continually to call to his grace for mercy, and grace for his offences. He dated the letter "at the Tower, this Wednesday the last of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell;" and below the subscription he wrote "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." He afterwards wrote such a pathetic letter to the king, that Henry seemed affected with it, and caused it to be read thrice over in his hearing; but these impressions were effaced by the beauty of Catherine Howard, and the insinuations of the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Winchester; so that a warrant was granted for his being beheaded on Tower-hill. When he was brought to the scaffold, his regard for his son hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence. He thanked God for bringing him to that death for his transgressions. He acknowledged his offences against God and his prince, who had raised him from a low degree; confessed he had been seduced, but that now he died in the catholic faith. Then he desired the bye-standers to pray for the king, the prince, and for himself; and, having

A. C. 1540.

Cromwell is
beheaded.

A. C. 1540. having spent a little time at his own private devotion, submitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a shocking manner. This great minister was the son of a blacksmith; and, though he had not the benefit of a liberal education, he raised himself by his natural sagacity and dexterity in business to the highest offices of the state. He bore his prosperity with great moderation; was particularly grateful to those who had assisted him in his necessities; and such was his integrity, that his enemies could not fix any stain of corruption on his character. The king is said to have lamented his death; and the fall of the new queen, who did not long survive Cromwell, together with the miseries that fell upon the duke of Norfolk and his family in the sequel, were considered as the judgments of heaven upon them for their cruel persecution of this minister. Walter lord Hungerford suffered at the same time for sorcery, treason, and bestiality. In a few days after Cromwell's death, a number of people were executed together for very different crimes: some for having denied the king's supremacy, and others for having maintained the Lutheran doctrines. These last were three priests of the name of Barnes, Gerard, and Jérôme. They had been condemned by act of parliament, for spreading heresy, and falsifying the holy scripture; and they suffered at the stake with great constancy, praying for their persecutors.

Herbert.
Burnet.

The king
declares his
marriage
with Catherine
Howard.

On the eighth day of August the king declared his marriage with Catherine Howard, whom he had some time ago privately espoused; and as this lady was wholly devoted to her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner bishop of Winchester, the partisans of the pope began to flatter themselves with the prospect of a change in matters of religion. They marked out Cranmer as a sacrifice! Already they began to revile him openly; and a member

member of parliament publicly declared in the house, that he was chief and protector of the innovators. The commissioners appointed to draw up an exposition of the christian doctrine having finished their work, it was published by the king's order; and then the world perceived, that, instead of advancing, it checked the progress of the reformation. Other commissioners, employed to reform the missals, made hardly any other alteration than that of razing out the pope's name, when it occurred; and every thing seemed to prognosticate the fall of Cranmer, though his enemies proceeded very gradually in the work of his destruction, well knowing that he was personally beloved by his sovereign.

During these transactions in England, the good understanding so lately established between the emperor and Francis, suffered a sudden interruption. While Charles tarried at Paris, he positively promised to bestow the dutchy of Milan on the duke of Orleans; but postponed the cession until he should arrive in the Low Countries, that he might not seem to have acted on compulsion, in which case the cession would be deemed void. After his departure from France, however, he still found new pretences for delaying the execution of his promise; and in the mean time subdued and chastised the inhabitants of Ghent, who had revolted. Francis, finding that he had no intention to part with the Milanese, was so incensed at his disappointment that he disgraced the chancellor Poyer, and the constable Montmorency, who had advised him to trust to the word of the emperor. In the course of this year, a rupture had well nigh happened between the French and English, on account of a bridge that Francis ordered to be built upon a river, which divided his dominions from the English territory in Picardy. The garrison of Calais having destroyed

A.C. 1540.

*Causes of
discontent
between
Henry and
Francis.*

Du Bellay.

A.C. 1540. destroyed the bridge, the French king began to levy forces; and Henry reinforced the garrison of Calais. That such a frivolous cause might not produce a war between the two nations, commissioners were sent by both kings to examine the affair, and terminate the difference in an amicable manner; but the conference proving ineffectual, they began mutually to provide for the defence of their frontiers. It was likewise in this year that pope Paul III. by a bull confirmed the order of Jesuits.

A.C. 1541. A new flame was now on the point of breaking out in Europe. The emperor was threatened with a war, not only by Francis, but likewise by Solyman emperor of the Turks, who had taken into his protection young Stephen Sepusa, who disputed the kingdom of Hungary with Ferdinand king of the Romans. Charles endeavoured to intimidate the Porte from a commission of hostilities, by affecting an intimate union with the kings of France and England: he promised to erect the Low Countries into a kingdom, and bestow it upon the duke of Orleans. Francis, who perceived his drift, and knew his insincerity, appointed ambassadors for the courts of Constantinople and Venice, in order to disabuse those powers; but as they failed down the Po in a boat, they were assassinated by the direction of the marquis of Guast, governor of Milan. The French king complained loudly of this outrage; for which however he received no satisfaction from the emperor; and this was a fresh source of animosity. Charles, at this time, had convoked a diet at Ratisbon; and, as this was no season for disturbing the protestants, he granted them another respite called the Interim, that they might the more chearfully furnish him with succours against the Infidels. The king of the Romans had already invested Buda, which he hoped

Mezerai.

to reduce before the Turks should come to its assistance: but, the garrison making a gallant defence, the Ottoman army came to their relief, and obtained a signal victory over the Germans. Nevertheless, the emperor, instead of marching into Hungary, great part of which was now in the hands of Solyman, repaired to Italy, and embarked at Porto Venere with an army of five and twenty thousand men, destined to act against Barbarossa, who had seized the sovereignty of Algiers. He landed in the neighbourhood of that city, on the twenty-second day of October; but before he could undertake any thing of consequence, a violent tempest destroyed the best part of his fleet, and he was obliged to re-embark in the beginning of November.

A. C. 1542.
The emperor's expedition to Algiers.

Mean while, Henry king of England, understanding that his nephew James, the Scottish monarch, was entirely directed by the council of some churchmen devoted to the see of Rome, began to be afraid, that he might be brought over to the interests of the emperor, and at his instigation disturb the English dominions. He earnestly desired to persuade James to follow his example in renouncing the papal authority, and was vain enough to believe his own eloquence was sufficient for this purpose. He therefore sent ambassadors to demand an interview at York, and James agreed to the proposals: but the Scottish clergy, fearing the consequences of this interview, found means to dissuade their sovereign from going to York; and, after Henry had waited for him some days in that city, he received letters of excuse, at which he was exceedingly incensed. The chagrin he felt at this disappointment was a meer trifle in comparison of what now awaited him on his return to London. He had, upon all occasions, expressed the most perfect satisfaction in his present marriage. He was

A. D. 1541. so captivated with the queen's accomplishments, that when he received the sacrament on All Saint's day, he thanked God for his felicity, and desired his confessor to join with him in the same thanksgiving. This joy however was of very short duration : while he was at York, a man of the name of Lassels had waited upon Cranmer at London ; and, from the information of his sister, who had been servant to the dutchess dowager of Norfolk, gave him a very surprising account of the queen's incontinence. He said she had led a very lewd life before her marriage, carried on a scandalous correspondence with two men called Dierham and Mannock ; and that she continued to indulge herself in the same criminal pleasure since she was raised to her present greatness. Cranmer was equally surprised and embarrassed at this intelligence, which he communicated to the chancellor and some other members of the privy-council, who advised him to make the king acquainted with the whole affair, at his return to London. The archbishop knew what a risque he ran, by intermeddling in such a delicate subject with a prince of Henry's disposition : but he likewise knew the danger of suppressing such information. He therefore resolved to commit what he had heard to writing, in the form of a memorial, which he delivered into the king's own hand, desiring his majesty to read it in private. Henry believed at first it was a piece of calumny, and determined to punish the authors with the utmost severity. With this view he ordered the keeper of the privy-seal to examine Lassels, who repeated the same story, and even produced his sister, by whom it was confirmed. Then Dierham and Mannock being arrested, confessed that they had carnally known the queen ; that one of her principal confidants in those stolen debauches was the lady Rochford, who had accused her husband of incest with

The queen
accused of
inconti-
nence,

Anne

Anne Boleyn; that this lady introduced into the queen's bed chamber one Culpeper, who had stayed with her from eleven at night till four o'clock in the morning. As the queen had taken Dierham into her service, it was presumed that she intended to continue in the same course of life. When she was first questioned about these particulars, she denied the charge; but afterwards, understanding that Dierham and Mannock had discovered what they knew, she confessed that before her marriage she had admitted several men to her bed. Henry was so affected at this discovery, that he shed a flood of tears, and bitterly lamented his misfortune. Dierham, Mannock, and Culpeper, were convicted and executed: but he referred the queen's fate to the consideration of the parliament, which he assembled on the sixteenth day of January.

Herbert.
Burnet.

The lord chancellor having moved the house of lords to take the king's case into consideration, and send some of their number to examine the queen; the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Westminster, the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Southampton, were pitched upon for that purpose. To these she repeated her confession; and when they made their report, both houses declared her guilty. They then petitioned the king that she might be punished with death; that the same penalty might be inflicted on the lady Rochford, the accomplice of her debauches, her grandmother the dutchess dowager of Norfolk, her father and mother, the dutchess of Bridgewater, five other women and four men, on account of their having been privy to the queen's dissolute life, without making it known to his majesty. Henry having consented to the request of his parliament, they were condemned to death by an act of attainder, which at the same time decreed the penalties of treason against all those who, knowing the debauchery of any fu-

Attainted,
and beheaded.

ture

A.C. 1542. ture queen, should not disclose them immediately; against any young woman who, being solicited in marriage by the king, should deceive him with respect to her virginity; against any queen or princess of Wales who should allow herself to be debauched; against any man who should presume to solicit a queen or princess on such a subject; against all those who should in any shape assist him in such addresses; and finally against any person who, knowing the young woman demanded in marriage by the king to be no virgin, should conceal this circumstance from his majesty's knowledge. Henry having passed this strange act, his wife Catherine and lady Rochford were beheaded, the queen still owning she had led a dissolute life before marriage, but denying on her salvation that she had ever defiled his majesty's couch. The public exclaimed so loudly against the severity of the act of parliament, by which her parents and relations were condemned, that the king did not think proper to execute the sentence upon them, though some of them were long detained in confinement.

Herbert.

This affair being terminated, the parliament confirmed an act of the Irish parliament, erecting that country into a kingdom; and, from this period, the sovereigns of England have assumed the title of king of Ireland; whereas they were formerly stiled lords of that island. As Henry intended to seize the colleges and hospitals of the kingdom, as he had already made himself master of the monasteries, this complaisant parliament, in order to pave the way to the execution of his design, passed an act, annulling the particular constitutions of colleges and hospitals; and this obstacle being removed, some of them were resigned to his majesty, but a shorter method was taken in the sequel. While the parliament was employed in this manner, the convocation was divided into parties, touching the new tran-

translation of the Bible; which Gardiner and his partisans maintained was full of errors; and that therefore the people ought not to read it until it should be corrected. Cranmer, perceiving his intention was to gain time, in hope that the king's opinion would change, obtained an order from his majesty, referring the correction to the two universities; and a patent was granted to a London book-seller, giving him an exclusive right to print the Bible in English.

A C. 1542.
The universities ordered to correct the Bible.

A. & Pub.

While the king of France attacked the emperor in five places at once, without any great success, Henry resolved to take vengeance on the king of Scotland for the affront he had sustained at his hands in the affair of the interview; to compel the Scottish nation to relinquish their connexions with the enemies of England; and to oblige James to renounce the papal authority. As a pretext was wanting for his committing hostilities, he pretended that the truce had been violated; that certain English rebels had been entertained in Scotland; and he published a manifesto, in which he claimed that right of superiority over the kingdom of Scotland which we have enlarged upon in the reign of the first Edward. James, being apprised of his uncle's intention, began to put himself in a posture of defence, and sent two ambassadors to London with proposals of accommodation. These were detained at the English court, under various pretences, until Henry was ready to take the field, and even then they were obliged to attend the army, which was sent into their country under the command of the duke of Norfolk. Two other Scottish ambassadors meeting that nobleman on his march, were detained as prisoners until he arrived at Berwick. Mean while king James, hearing of his approach, detached a body of ten thousand men to the frontiers, under the command of Gordon, who

A. C. 1542. could not, however, prevent the duke's entering Scotland, where he ravaged the country bordering on the Tweed, and then retreated to Berwick on account of the severity of the season. James, in the mean time, assembling an army of fifteen thousand men, with a train of artillery, appointed the lord Maxwell general, and resolved to invade England on the western side by Solway frith. Thither the king went in person; but he soon quitted the field, after having bestowed the chief command upon his minion Oliver Sinclair, an upstart, who was extremely disagreeable to all the nobility. They were so incensed at his being appointed general, that they refused to serve under his banner, and the whole camp was filled with mutiny and confusion; when Sir Thomas Wharton appearing with three hundred horse, they supposed it was the van of Norfolk's army; and, being seized with a panic, fled in the utmost trepidation. The English perceiving their rout, pursued with great diligence; and, without the least resistance, took the earls of Cassils and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Gray, and Oliver Sinclair, with about two hundred gentlemen, eight hundred soldiers, and all their baggage and artillery.

The Scottish
army
routed.

Stow.
Herbert.
Buchanan,

The news of this disaster affected James so deeply, that in a few days he died of grief and mortification, leaving his new-born daughter Mary heiress of the Scottish throne. Another subject of chagrin is said to have also contributed to his death. The duke of Norfolk having sent an herald about the ransom of the prisoners, he was murdered by one Leech, a Lincolnshire rebel, who was afterwards delivered up to the king of England. The prisoners being brought to London, were carried in procession from the Tower to Westminster, where the king reproached some of them with having mis-
led

led his nephew by their pernicious counsels. Nevertheless, they were treated with more hospitality than they had reason to expect; and distributed among the principal noblemen, who entertained them at their houses. When the tidings of Mary's birth and her father's death arrived at the same time, Henry thought this was a favourable conjuncture for effecting an union of the two kingdoms, by a match between Edward prince of Wales, and the young queen of Scotland. He ordered his emissaries to sound the dispositions of the prisoners on this subject; and finding them well inclined to support such a proposal, he set them at liberty, on condition that they should return to London, in case the project should not succeed.

Henry's
view of ef-
fecting an
union of
Scotland
with Eng-
land.

Scotland was left in great confusion by the untimely death of its monarch. The next heir to the crown after young Mary, was James Hamilton earl of Arran, a man of a moderate genius, and quiet disposition. He favoured the reformation; but was altogether unfit for the management of public affairs. On account of his bias towards the new religion, he was hated by the clergy, and the queen dowager, who was sister to the duke of Guise, and blindly devoted to the papal authority. Her bigotry and superstition were encouraged by David Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews, a priest of a violent temper, who had persecuted the reformers with the utmost rancour; and obtained a cardinal's hat, as a recompence for his zealous attachment to the see of Rome. This prelate, seeing all the nobility of the kingdom at variance among themselves, resolved to make his advantage of this civil confusion; and produced a forged will of the late king, by which he himself was appointed regent or viceroy during the minority of Mary. He was supported in his pretensions to this office by all the credit and influence of the queen dowager. On

A. C. 1543

A.C. 1543. the other hand, the friends of the reformation incited the earl of Arran to claim the regency, by virtue of his proximity of blood; and thus animated, he determined to demand it at the meeting of the next parliament, after he should have detected the forgery of the will produced by Beaton. His party gained a considerable accession by the arrival of Archibald Douglas earl of Angus, and his brother William, who now returned from England, after an exile of fifteen years. When the parliament assembled, the will was examined, the fraud discovered, and the earl of Arran appointed regent of the kingdom. Henry sent Sir Ralph Sadler as his ambassador to this assembly, to propose the match between prince Edward and their young queen. Notwithstanding the cardinal's opposition, the proposal was embraced; the parliament appointed the two Douglasses, and some other persons, as ambassadors, to negotiate the treaty, which was concluded at London on the first day of July, importing, That the young queen should be educated in Scotland until she should have attained the tenth year of her age: and, that the Scottish parliament should send three hostages of distinction to reside in England, until the marriage should be accomplished.

Treaty concluded with the Scottish parliament;

Act. Pub.

which is defeated by cardinal Beaton.

These measures, however, were defeated by the intrigues of Beaton, who, by means of a large contribution from the clergy, bribed and caballed with such success, that the people in general exclaimed against the treaty with England, as an union that would end in their own slavery. The English ambassador was insulted by the populace; the regent had no longer power to protect him, much less to send the hostages stipulated in the treaty. Then he summoned the prisoners to return to England, according to their engagement; but, none of them would trust themselves in the power of Henry,

Henry, except Gilbert Kennedy earl of Cassils, who A. C. 1543. prized his honour above his liberty, and returned to London, where Henry compared him to Attilius Regulus; and was so pleased with his punctilious behaviour, that he dismissed him without ransom, after having bestowed upon him extraordinary marks of favour and esteem: at the same time, he resolved to declare war against Scotland. Meanwhile, the queen and the cardinal, in order to strengthen their party against the interest of the Hamiltons, invited Matthew Stuart earl of Lennox to return from France, where he had resided for some time, promising that he should marry the queen dowager; and, in case of the infant Mary's death, succeed to the crown in preference to Arran, whose father's marriage was liable to some objections. Allured by this bait, the earl of Lennox returned to Scotland, and levied a body of men, in order to rescue the young queen from the hands of the regent, who proposed an accommodation, which was accordingly effected. The earl of Arran, tired of opposing the queen dowager and cardinal, resolved to unite himself with them for the future; but before they would receive him into their confidence, he was obliged to abjure the doctrines of the reformation, which he had hitherto professed. When they gained this important point, they had no further occasion for Lennox, whom the queen dowager amused with hopes of the marriage, while she, by letters, intreated the king of France to recal him to that kingdom, as a person whose presence obstructed the French interest in Scotland. Before these letters arrived in France, however, the French king had remitted a considerable sum to Lennox, in order to be distributed among his friends in Scotland; for this was the method by which he and Henry supported factions in that country. Lennox, perceiving that the queen

A. C. 1543. had no intention to fulfil her promise, divided part of the money among his own friends; and the cardinal, who expected to have received the largest portion, was so exasperated at his disappointment, that he instigated the regent to raise a body of forces, and surprise Glasgow, to which Lennox had retired with his acquisition. This nobleman suspecting their drift, levied ten thousand men for his own defence, and fortified Glasgow and Dunbarton, while the regent proceeded very slowly in his endeavours to assemble an army. At length a peace was concluded between the two parties, and the chiefs were externally reconciled at Edinburgh, from whence they repaired together to Stirling; but Lennox receiving intimation of a conspiracy against him, quitted the court abruptly, and retired to his fortress of Dunbarton, where he first learned the ill offices the queen dowager had done him with the king of France.

Buchanan.

While Scotland was agitated with these commotions, the parliament of England meeting in January, granted a subsidy to the king, to reimburse him for the expence of the Scottish war, as well as his other occasions. Then they enacted a statute, permitting the nobility, gentry, and merchants to have English Bibles in their houses, together with certain other religious books mentioned in the act, for the instruction of their families. This law, which was granted to the solicitations of Cranmer, contained a clause that mitigated the penalties of those who should be accused of heresy; but the parliament left it in the king's power to annul or change this act as he should think proper. Immediately after the session broke up, Henry concluded a league with the emperor, which, though contrary to the interests of England, gratified his spleen against Francis, whom he now perfectly hated for his selfish disposition, as well as for some sarcastic rail-

Herbert.

raillery which he had thrown out against Henry's person and marriages. Charles desired nothing so passionately as an alliance with England, which he concluded would counterballance the enmity of France, and the opposition of the German protestants. He had, by this time, forgot the disgrace of his aunt Catherine, or at least, the suggestions of his interest and ambition stifled those of his resentment. Bonner bishop of London was sent to Spain to manage the negotiation, in which one considerable obstacle occurred. The emperor insisted upon Henry's acknowledging his daughter Mary as his legitimate offspring; and the king of England obstinately refused to give him that satisfaction. Yet he promised to give her a rank in the succession, according to the power vested in him by parliament; and, at last, Charles was contented with this verbal promise. The treaty, which was concluded at London, contained in substance, That the emperor and the king of England should send ambassadors, to tell the king of France, that as the Turks had invaded Christendom at his solicitation, they expected he would break off all communication with those Infidels, and repair the damage they had done in Europe: That he should desist from all hostilities against the emperor, restore the places he had taken with the assistance of the Mussulmen, and pay the debts he owed to the king of England. The contracting parties moreover agreed, That neither peace nor truce should be made with France, but on condition that the French king should discharge his obligations to Henry; and, as a security for the future payment of the pension, put into his hands the counties of Ponthieu, Bologne, Montreuil, Ardres, and Térounne; and restore the dutchy of Burgundy to the emperor: That should Francis refuse to comply with these conditions, the two monarchs would de-

A. C. 1543.

Henry concludes a league with the emperor.

Act. Pub.

A. C. 1543. **Clare**, and prosecute the war against him, until Henry should be in possession of the crown of France, and Charles master of Abbeville, Bray, Corbiel, Peronne, Hamme, St. Quintin, and Burgundy; finally they agreed, That each should attack France with five and twenty thousand men, five thousand of which should be cavalry.

Herbert.

Henry ef-
pouses Catherine
Parr.

Scheme laid
for the de-
struction of
Cranmer.

In the month of July, Henry once more changed his condition, by marrying a sixth wife, in the person of Catherine Parr, the late lord Latimer's widow, a woman of discretion, already passed the meridian of life, who managed his temper with prudence and success. She favoured the reformation in her heart: but, she knew how dangerous it was to contradict the king in religious matters; and therefore she would not venture to interpose in behalf of three protestants that were burned at Windsor, immediately after her marriage, at the solicitation of Gardiner bishop of Winchester. That prelate, and the other enemies of the reformation, not contented with the destruction of those, and other such innocent enthusiasts, eagerly aspired at the ruin of Cranmer, whom they considered as head and protector of all those innovators in religion; and on the supposition, that the king would bear no contradiction in articles of faith, they ventured to insinuate to his majesty, that heresy would never be weeded out of the land, while its protector was suffered to flourish. Henry at first made no answer to these insinuations, because he guessed their aim, and supposed his silence would discourage them from renewing their attempts; but Gardiner, and the duke of Norfolk, with other partisans of popery, repeated the same strain so often, that his curiosity was interested. He seemed to listen with pleasure to their remonstrances, and even received some articles of accusation against Cranmer, subscribed with the names of his accusers, for, the duke and the bishop
being

being unwilling to appear as parties in the affair, A. C. 1543. had prevailed upon the canons of Canterbury, and some justices of the peace in Kent, to prefer those articles against the archbishop. Henry thus informed, took an opportunity, while he diverted himself on the river Thames, to stop at Lambeth, where Cranmer resided; and that prelate coming down to receive his majesty, was ordered to come into the barge, where the king conversed with him in private. He expressed his uneasiness at the growth of heresy, which he said he was resolved to extirpate, by punishing its fautors and protectors with the utmost rigour of the law. Cranmer applauded his resolution; but intreated him, in the name of God, to examine well what was branded with the name of heresy; lest, in punishing supposed heretics, he should wreak his vengeance on the faithful servants of the Almighty: then the king told him, that he was supposed to be the chief protector of the heretics, and put into his hand the articles of accusation; which the archbishop having perused with great composure, fell upon his knees, and desired he might be brought to trial. He frankly owned, that with respect to the law of the six articles, which he had so strenuously opposed, his sentiments still remained unaltered, though he had never spoke, nor acted against it in any shape, since it acquired the force of a law. When the king asked if he was really married, he answered in the affirmative; but declared, that as soon as the law of the six articles had passed through both houses, he sent his wife to Germany. Henry was so struck with the candour and integrity of this truly primitive bishop, that he assured him of his protection, made him acquainted with the scheme that was formed for his destruction; disclosed to him the names of his accusers; and commanded him to prosecute them for defamation. Cranmer begged to be excused; but the king

A. C. 1543. king insisted upon his proceeding, and desired him to nominate the judges. The archbishop, however, proceeded so coldly in this prosecution, that Henry seeing it was against his inclination, allowed him to drop it, though he could not help admiring his generosity. Such was the simplicity of Cranmer's heart, that he could not distinguish his own enemies; and such his benevolence, that he could not withhold his assistance from those whom he knew to be his enemies. One day, he went to court to solicit in favour of a person who had craved his interest. Henry asked him, if he thought that person was his friend, and he replying in the affirmative, "No (said the king) he is your inveterate foe, " and I order you to call him knave when next you see him." Cranmer begged he might be excused from using such expressions as did not become the mouth of a bishop. Henry said he would be obeyed; but Cranmer found means to avoid the meeting; and the king continued to admire and love him for his christian meekness and integrity.

Burnet. On the twenty-third day of December, lord Parr, the queen's brother, was created earl of Essex; and her uncle was honoured with the title of baron Parr, and the office of queen's chamberlain. The war still continued between the emperor and the king of France. In the beginning of the campaign Francis obtained some advantages in Flanders, which he lost again when Charles arrived in the Low Countries with an army of Spaniards. Barbarossa, the Turkish admiral, having joined the count d'Eng-hien at Marseilles with one hundred and ten gallies, the united fleets steered towards Nice, which they attacked, and reduced the town; but, the castle was defended so vigorously, that they were obliged to abandon the enterprize, and Barbarossa returned in the spring to Turkey.

Promotion of the queen's kindred.

Progress of the war between the emperor and Francis.

Mozzerai.

All the assistance Charles received from the king of England during this campaign, was a body of six thousand troops sent over under Sir John Wallop, who joined the emperor's army in the Low Countries; but the two allies formed the project of entering France by Picardy and Champagne in the ensuing summer. Mean while, that nothing might interrupt the good understanding re-established between them, Henry resolved to keep his word with regard to the princess Mary; and the parliament being assembled in January, passed an act, regulating the different degrees of those who, after the king's death, might pretend to the succession. Prince Edward and his posterity held the first rank in this act of settlement: the next place was occupied by the male issue which the king might have either by the reigning queen, or any future lawful wife; the third rank was allotted to the princess Mary and her issue: and the fourth to Elizabeth and her children: but, to convince these princesses, that they owed this distinction intirely to their father's favour, this act subjected them to any conditions he should please to impose, which should they reject, they were deprived of all right of succession: besides, in case of disobeying their father, or dying without issue, the king was empowered to regulate the order of succession according to his own pleasure, either by will or letters patent. By a clause of this statute, all the subjects were obliged to take a new oath, renouncing the authority of the bishop of Rome, on pain of incurring heavy penalties, which were likewise decreed against those who should violate any articles contained in this act of parliament. In this session, the title of King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme head of the Anglicane and Irish churches, were inseparably annexed to the crown of England. Another act deprived the ecclesiastical

A. C. 1543

A. C. 1544

The succession settled by act of parliament,

A. C. 1544. **Herbert,** **fiastical** courts of the power to oppress the subjects on pretence of heresy, by decreeing, That no person could be judged on the statute of the six articles, before the accusation should be approved by a jury of twelve men, sworn before the king's commissioners, to be appointed for that purpose. Then the parliament passed a strange bill, by which the king was released from all the debts he owed to individuals; and lastly, they granted him a power to appoint commissioners for examining and altering the ecclesiastical constitutions. About this period, the lord Audley dying, was succeeded in the office of chancellor by Thomas Wriothesley, a great stickler for the old religion.

The king of France, understanding that the emperor and king of England intended to attack him in the center of his dominions with an army of one hundred thousand men, recalled twelve thousand men from Italy, where they had served under the young count D'Enghien, who had obtained a signal victory over the marquis de Guast at Cerisoles, and would in all probability have subdued the Milanese, had not he been thus disabled from pursuing his good fortune. Henry, mean while, continued to make preparations for this mighty invasion; and resolved to render them subservient to two purposes. His design was to humble Scotland before he should embark for the contingent. He had no intention to make conquests, but only to compel the Scots, by the terror of his arms, to consent to the marriage which he had already proposed. That people was in no condition to maintain a war; but cardinal Beaton, who now governed them under the name of the regent, was a prelate of such violence and obstinacy, that he chose rather to expose his country to destruction, than consent to a match that would ruin his own fortune. Henry therefore resolved to send into Scotland part of the forces intended for France; and
the

Expedition
into Scot-
land,

the care of the expedition was intrusted to the earl of Hertford, and John Dudley baron of Lisle, the admiral of England. The army embarked at Newcastle, and landing at Leith, marched directly to Edinburgh, which they pillaged and burned, without meeting the least opposition. They did not attack the castle, but returning to Leith, reduced that town to ashes; and reembarking, returned to Berwick. Henry had occasion for his troops in the execution of his great project against France; and he thought he had done enough to intimidate the Scots into his measures. But, on this occasion he deviated from the dictates of sound policy. Instead of intimidating the Scots into compliance, he rendered himself odious to the whole nation by this cruel descent. He ought either to have conquered the whole kingdom, while it was in his power, or to have conciliated the affection of the natives by the lenity and generosity of his conduct, while they were at his mercy. He might have made his own terms when his troops were in possession of Edinburgh, before he had driven the Scots to despair, by reducing their capital to ashes.

Mean while, the earl of Lennox finding himself abandoned by the French king, whom the queen dowager and her relations of the house of Guise had prepossessed against him, began to sound the disposition of Henry towards himself and his intimate friend the earl of Glencairn. The king of England lending a willing ear to his proposals, Glencairn, and the bishop of Caithness, brother to Lennox, with two other persons, repaired to Carlisle, where they treated with Henry's commissioners; and engaged in the following conventions: That they would cause the true word of God to be preached in their territories: That to the best of their power they would hinder their young queen from being removed out of Scotland, unless she could be

Henry's
treaty with
the earl of
Lennox.

A.C. 1544 put into the hands of the king of England : That they would employ all their interest in obtaining for Henry the administration and protectorship of Scotland : and, That the bishop of Caithness and Hugh Cunningham should remain as hostages in England. Henry promised, on his part, that his army should not spoil their lands : That the regency of the kingdom should be bestowed upon Lennox, on condition, that he should do nothing without Henry's advice : That this nobleman should receive out of the crown-revenues a reasonable proportion for the maintenance of that dignity ; That, in case of Mary's death, the king of England should support his pretensions to the crown against those of the earl of Arran : That Glencairn should have a pension of one thousand crowns ; and, That Henry's niece the lady Margaret Douglas should be married to the earl of Lennox. This treaty being signed at Carlisle, the earl repaired to London, where he confirmed the agreement, and promised to deliver the castle of Dunbarton, and the isle of Bute, into the hands of the English ; Henry engaging to furnish him with five hundred men, and a pension for himself and Striveling governor of Dunbarton castle. These conventions being ratified, Lennox sailed thither with six hundred English soldiers in thirteen vessels ; but Striveling preferring his duty to his friendship for the earl, refused to admit them into the fortress. Thus disappointed, they ravaged the isles of Arran and Bute, plundered Kintyre and some other villages ; and sailed back to Bristol, while Henry was abroad on his expedition. While Lennox was employed in this fruitless attempt, a body of English made themselves masters of Jedburgh, Kelso, and Coldingham, which last place they garrisoned before they retired to their own country. The cardinal and regent raised about eight thousand men to retake this town

town; but, the former hearing, that a detachment was on its march from Berwick to the relief of the place, was seized with such consternation, that he betook himself immediately to flight; the greatest part of the army instantly disbanded, and the artillery would have been abandoned to the first comer, had not the earl of Angus carried it off by means of his own vassals. After this dispersion of the Scottish forces, parties of the English ravaged the Merse, Teviotdale, and Lothian, and even compelled the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to the king of England.

Herbert.
Buchanan.

By this time, the emperor having granted a toleration to the protestants, who purchased this indulgence with a good subsidy, he settled a new regulation touching the ensuing campaign, with his ally the king of England; and these two powers agreed to bring above an hundred thousand men into the field, so as to join in the neighbourhood of Paris. Charles reduced Luxemburg, fell into the Barrois, where he took Commercy and Ligny; then he entered Champagne, and invested St. Didier about the beginning of July. Henry understanding, that the imperial army was in motion, appointed his queen regent of the realm in his absence, with a proper council, embarked his forces, amounting to thirty thousand; which landing at Calais about Midsummer, the duke of Norfolk with a detachment joined the count de Bure, who commanded about twelve thousand Imperialists; and these together undertook the siege of Montreuil. If Charles and Henry had not amused themselves in besieging towns, but marched directly to Paris, according to the plan of operations, Francis would have been reduced to extremity; for, his whole army did not exceed forty thousand men. Henry arriving at Calais, and understanding that the emperor was employed in the

His expedition into Picardy.

Du Bellay.

siege

A. C. 1544. siege of St. Didier, instead of advancing towards the heart of France, sat down before Boulogne, which surrendered on the twenty sixth day of July. From that period the two allies began to distrust one another. They were both guilty of having infringed the treaty. The emperor, by indirect methods, proposed terms of peace to Francis, and Henry openly granted safe-conduct to the French ambassadors, who came to treat with him on the same subject. Mean while, Charles having at last made himself master of St. Didier, summoned Henry to march towards Paris, according to their convention; and the king of England excused himself until he should have reduced Boulogne. The emperor had already advanced as far as Chateau-Thierry, and filled all Paris with consternation; but, concluding, from Henry's answer, that the projected operations of the campaign would not be put in execution, he renewed his secret negotiation with Francis, which had been suspended; and concluded a separate peace, which was signed at Crepy on the nineteenth day of September, without Henry's being either included in the treaty, or made acquainted with the transaction.

Herbert.
Mazarin.

Having thus delivered himself from the burden of the war, he recalled his troops under the command of the count de Bure; so that Henry was obliged to abandon the siege of Montreuil, and retire to Calais with all expedition, as the army was greatly diminished by sickness, and a draught made for the garrison of Boulogne; and the dauphin advanced against him at the head of a numerous army. That prince, who did not reach the Boullonois till after the retreat of the English, attempted to surprise the city by the breaches which were not yet repaired, and his troops had actually penetrated into the lower town; but, those in the upper part making a vigorous sally, obliged them to retire in disorder. A conference

conference was afterwards opened at Calais by the commissioners of both nations, to treat of a pacification; but the French insisting upon Henry's abandoning Boulogne as a preliminary article, the negotiation produced no effect. The king, at his return to England, ordered fortifications to be raised at Gravesend and Tilbury, for the defence of the river Thames, and took all the necessary precautions to repel an invasion, which he imagined Francis would attempt in his turn. The earl of Lennox, the lord Dacres, and Sir Thomas Wharton were sent with a body of forces into Scotland, where they took Dumfries, and plundered the country, from whence they carried off a very considerable booty. The success of this incursion encouraged Sir Ralph Evers, now created a baron, and Sir Bryan Layton, to make another inroad in the winter, when they laid waste all Teviotdale, with the spoils of which they returned in triumph. In order to animate their endeavours in the prosecution of this war, they were indulged with a grant of all the lands they should conquer; and thus encouraged, they renewed their incursions in the spring. By this time, the earl of Angus had raised some forces for the defence of his country; and drawing the English invaders into an ambuscade at Ancram, fell upon them with such fury, that all the leaders were slain or taken prisoners, and the whole body entirely defeated. Among the prisoners was one Read, an alderman of London, who had refused to contribute to a benevolence exacted by the king, and for that reason was impressed as a soldier.

A. C. 1544.

Hostilities
against the
Scots.

A. C. 1544.

Godwin.
Herbert.

In the beginning of the year the marechal de Biez encamped with fourteen thousand men in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, in order to build a fort that should command the harbour; but, the earl of Hertford, who commanded in the town;

NUMB. LIII.

H

making

A.C. 1544 making a sally with part of the garrison, compelled him to retire with precipitation, leaving behind some artillery, and great part of his baggage. Francis now determined to make one great effort against England. He equipped a vast fleet, and raised a very numerous army, designing to attack Boulogne both by sea and land. He sent a reinforcement to the marechal de Biez, with order to build that fort which he had been obliged to leave undone. Mean while, he himself repairing to Havre de Grace, which was the rendezvous of his shipping, commanded his admiral Annebaut to set sail for the coast of England. The French fleet arrived on the eighteenth day of July at Spithead, in sight of Portsmouth, where they were encountered by the English navy, which, being greatly inferior to them in number, after a slight skirmish retired into the harbour. Then the French made a descent upon the isle of Wight, where they burned a few farms and villages; and afterwards they landed on the coast of Suffex, in hope that Henry, who had come to Portsmouth, would order his fleet to quit the harbour, and sail to the assistance of the country. But, Annebaut being disappointed in his expectation, and finding that excellent precautions had been taken for the security of the coast, he watered on the isle of Wight, and retired towards Boulogne, where he set on shore four thousand soldiers with all the pioneers which had been embarked for the expedition. Then he set sail again for the English coast; and Henry's fleet being by this time augmented, put to sea to give them battle: they met in a little time, and engaged each other with equal fury; but, night parting them, after they had fought two hours, the French retired to Havre de Grace, and the English admiral steering towards Normandy, ravaged the coasts of that province.

The French
make a de-
scent upon
the isle of
Wight,

The

The principal aim of Francis was the reduction of Boulogne: he had hired ten thousand Landsquenets for that service, and bestowed the command of his whole army upon the marechal de Biez, who encamped in the neighbourhood of the fort, which he had undertaken to build at Portet. This work, however, advanced very slowly, thro' the ignorance of the marechal and his engineer. At length being alarmed with a report that Henry had likewise engaged a strong body of Landsquenets in his service, and intended to send over an army for the relief of Boulogne, he left the fort unfinished, and took post on the mountain of St. Lambert, that he might prevent the enemy from throwing succours into the town. No enemy appeared; for although Henry had actually enlisted ten thousand Landsquenets, they came no farther than Liege, where finding themselves disappointed in the expectation of their levy-money, they returned to their own country, whither also they carried the English commissioners, whom they purposed to detain until they should receive proper satisfaction. While the French army lay encamped at St. Lambert, the duke of Orleans died at Chateau-Montier, to the unspeakable regret of his father Francis, whose peace with the emperor, in a great measure, depended upon the life of that young prince. Skirmishes were daily fought between parties of the English garrison of Boulogne and the French army, in one of which the duke d'Aumale, afterwards duke of Guise, received a surprising wound from a lance, which, penetrating at the corner of his eye, advanced half a foot within his skull, and, the lance breaking, the head of it remained in that position. It was withdrawn with great difficulty, and the wound cured by the admirable skill of Ambrose Pare, surgeon to the king of France; but a dreadful scar was left on the face of

and a fruit-
less attempt-
upon Bou-
logne.

Du Bellay.

A. C. 1545: the duke, who thence acquired the epithet of *Balafré* or *Slashed Face*.

Mezerai.
Herbert,

The season being now pretty far advanced, the *marechal de Biez* was ordered to ravage the territory of *Oye*, belonging to the English, in which he accordingly reduced a slight fortification; but he was soon obliged to quit his ground on account of the rains, and the low marshy situation of the country. Such were the transactions of a campaign, which Francis began with an army of two hundred thousand men, raised and maintained at a prodigious expence. The French king seeing all his measures had miscarried, that his kingdom was exhausted, and himself threatened with a new war by the emperor, as the conditions of the last treaty were dissolved by the death of the duke of Orleans, began to be extremely desirous of reconciling himself with England: but, as he did not choose to be a suitor in his own name to Henry, he took such measures, that the princes of the league of *Smalcaldé* offered themselves as mediators. This interposition appeared the more natural, as they were menaced by the emperor, who had entered into a negotiation with the Turks, and could not be supposed to find a better expedient for their own safety than that of compromising the difference between Francis and Henry, and soliciting the protection of these two princes. They accordingly sent envoys into France and England, with proposals of mediation. These were well received at both courts: a congress was opened between *Ardres* and *Guînes*; but, Francis demanding that *Boulogne* should be restored, and the Scots comprehended in the treaty, Henry refused to comply with these articles; and the negotiation proved ineffectual. The king of England, however, in hope of over-awing Francis into more condescension, sent the bishops of *Winchester* and

Fruitless
congress be-
tween *Ar-
dres* and
Guînes.

Westminster on an embassy to the emperor, as if he had been inclined to a reconciliation with Charles. On the other hand Francis sent a body of five thousand men into Scotland, under the command of the count de Montgomeri, that a powerful diversion might be made upon the English frontiers. The Scottish army thus reinforced amounted to fifteen thousand men, advanced towards the Tweed; and, small parties passing the river, made short incursions into the territories of England: but the French general could not persuade his allies to venture themselves wholly in the enemy's country. On the contrary, hearing the earl of Hertford was on his march to give them battle, they retired with great diligence, and in a few days dispersed. The protestants of Germany began to be very roughly handled by the emperor, who told them in the diet at Ratibon, that they had no favour to expect, unless they would submit themselves entirely to the council of Trent, which the pope intended to open on the thirteenth day of December, on the specious pretences of extirpating heresy, reforming church-discipline, and establishing a solid peace among the princes of Christendom.

Sleidan.
Burnet.

The parliament of England, meeting on the twenty-third day of November, passed an act, suppressing all colleges and hospitals, and appropriating their effects to the king's use, on pretence that the purposes of their foundations had been hitherto perverted: they likewise voted a considerable sum to indemnify his majesty for the expence of his wars with France and Scotland; and the clergy granted a subsidy for the same purpose. The war was carried on even in the winter season: the earl of Surrey, son to the duke of Norfolk, who commanded at Boulogne, being informed of a convoy which the French conducted to the fort of Outreau, attacked it with part of his garrison, but was de-

Herbert.

A. C. 1546. feated and obliged to retreat in great confusion ; and Henry was so mortified at this check, that he recalled the earl, and sent the lord Grey to command in his room. At the same time the king, hearing the French designed to cut off the communication between Boulogne and Calais, ordered the earl of Hertford, with ten thousand men, to go and take post at Ambleville, where he built two forts to secure the communication. Notwithstanding these hostilities both kings passionately desired an accommodation : Francis perceived that the reduction of Boulogne was a much more difficult task than he had imagined ; and he saw himself upon the eve of a war with the emperor, in which case he should want the assistance of such an ally as the king of England. Henry, on the other hand, was become so corpulent that he could not ascend the steps of the stair that led up to his chamber, without the utmost difficulty. This unwieldiness rendered him indolent and unfit for managing the administration ; and grew upon him so fast that he believed it would soon put a period to his life : so that he was unwilling to leave an expensive war upon the hands of his infant successor. Besides, he dreaded the power and ambition of the emperor, and designs of the pope, against which he wished to raise a bulwark, by making an alliance with the king of France and the protestants of Germany. Both parties being thus favourably disposed, the plenipotentiaries of France and England opened a congress at Campes between Guisnes and Ardres. In the beginning of June, they concluded a treaty, importing, That Francis should pay to Henry at a certain day two millions of golden crowns, in lieu of the arrears of his pension, and the money expended in the siege of Boulogne, which town Henry should keep in his own hands, until he should receive payment of all that was due to him from the king of France ; but,

Treaty of
peace be-
tween
France and
England.

those debts being discharged; Boulogne, with its territory, should be restored to its former owner. The emperor was comprehended in this treaty as well as the Scots, on condition that they should give no new cause of provocation; and both monarchs agreed, that certain disputes concerning the legality of demands on either side, should be discussed and determined by commissioners appointed for that purpose. At the publication of this peace in London there was a solemn procession, in which all the rich ornaments, plate, and jewels, belonging to the churches, were exhibited with great ostentation: but this was the last time they made such a public appearance; for, soon after, the king seized the whole for his own occasions, by virtue of his sovereign authority.

A. C. 1546.

Rymer.

The war had proved so expensive, that, notwithstanding this accession to the subsidies granted in parliament and convocation, and the spoils of chapels, colleges, and hospitals, he was obliged to impose a new tax upon his subjects, under the title of Benevolence. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge, alarmed at the act by which the colleges were granted to his majesty, presented petitions, imploring his favour and protection; and, after a long deliberation, he confirmed their charters and foundations, to which he added Trinity-College in Cambridge at his own expence. Before the conclusion of the peace the protestants of Germany sent prince Philip, brother of the elector palatine, to demand succours from Henry; and, in particular, to solicit a supply of one hundred thousand crowns for the defence of the league: but, instead of money he sent them seven propositions, containing the terms upon which he was willing to engage in a defensive league with the protestants. In the mean time the emperor and pope formed an alliance for their destruction: his holiness supplied

A. C. 1546. him with money and a strong body of troops under the command of Octavian Farnese. The protestants armed in their own defence, under the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; but neither side cared to hazard an engagement. At length, the king of the Romans, falling into the territories of the elector of Saxony, that prince was obliged to go to the relief of his own subjects; and, the landgrave being weakened by his departure, retired into his own dominions: so that the emperor being left master of the field, reduced Frankfort, Ulm, and several other towns of the league, where he found money for the maintenance of his army.

Sleidan.

Persecution
in Scotland.

While the protestants in Germany took arms in defence of their doctrine, those who favoured the reformation in Scotland were persecuted by cardinal Beaton, under the regent's authority. Several persons were condemned to the flames for heresy; and among the rest, a minister of the name of Wishart, who had distinguished himself by his piety and learning, and was universally beloved for the integrity of his heart, and the innocence of his manners. He was burned at St. Andrew's, in sight of the barbarous primate, who had rejected the intercession of the regent and many other noblemen; and now feasted his eyes with the execution of this unfortunate man from a window of his own palace. Wishart suffered with admirable constancy; but the zealots of his persuasion, not contented with describing him as a primitive martyr, in point of courage and resignation, endeavoured to raise him to the dignity of a prophet, by alledging that he predicted the fate of his persecutor, who, in a few days after his death, was assassinated by Norman Lesley and his associates.

Buchanan.

In England the reformation seemed neither to advance nor gain ground. The king dictated in all matters of faith, and neither party durst avow the

the least deviation from his opinions. For some time he had been incommoded by an ulcer in his leg; the pain of which, added to his corpulence and other infirmities, rendered him so peevish, and increased his natural irascibility to such a degree, that scarce any person approached him without fear and trembling. In matters of religion he was ever impatient of contradiction; but, by this time his temper was so irritated, that those who presumed to differ from him in opinion could expect no mercy. Shaxton, who had resigned the bishopric of Salisbury, and still remained in prison for having refused to conform to the six articles, being now accused of denying the real presence in the sacrament, the king ordered that he should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law; and he was condemned to the stake: but he saved his life by signing his recantation, and, in the sequel, became a cruel persecutor of the protestants. Anne Askew, a woman of good birth and uncommon talents, who was well known to many persons at court, being convicted of the same crime, chose rather to suffer death than purchase pardon at the expence of such abjuration. She was supposed to be favoured by some ladies of high rank, and even to have maintained some sort of religious correspondence with the queen; so that chancellor Wriothesley, hoping she might discover something that would furnish matter of impeachment against that princess, the earl of Hertford, or his countess, who favoured the reformation, caused this poor woman to be put to the rack; and is even said to have manually assisted in augmenting the torture which, though administered with unusual violence, she endured with the most amazing fortitude. Her bones were dislocated in such a manner, that they were obliged to carry her in a chair to the stake, where she suffered with four men condemned on the same account; and the apostate

Anne Askew
burnt in
Smithfield.

A. C. 1546. apostate Shaxton attended them to the place, where he preached a sermon, reproaching them in the harshest terms for their wilfulness and heresy.

Another attempt to destroy Cranmer.

The enemies of the reformation perceiving the king was now more furiously than ever incensed against the sacramentarians, made another effort to destroy Cranmer. They renewed their complaints against the archbishop, as the protector of that pernicious sect; and told Henry, that were he once committed to the Tower, such proofs would appear against him as would astonish his majesty. The king loved Cranmer with an affection which seemed to contradict every other part of his character; and he now resented the presumption of those who attempted to ruin a man, in whose favour he had so often interposed. Nevertheless, he disssembled his sentiments, received the articles of his accusation, and permitted that he should next day be examined in council. In the night, however, he sent privately for Cranmer, told him what had passed, and desired to know in what manner he proposed to defend himself. The archbishop thanked the king for his great goodness in making him previously acquainted with the design of his enemies, and humbly intreated him to appoint such judges for his trial as should understand the subject on which he would be tried. Henry, smiling at his simplicity, told him he was a fool to make so light of his own safety; that, if he was once in prison, they would find abundance of false witnesses to ruin him; and that, since he could not take care of himself, he (the king) would look after his affairs. He directed him to appear before the council when summoned, and plead his privilege as privy counsellor, that his accusers might be brought before his face; that in case they should insist upon committing him to the Tower, he should appeal personally to the king, and produce his majesty's seal ring.

ring, which he then took from his finger, and delivered to Cranmer. Next morning, being summoned to appear before the council, and going to the place where they sat, he was kept waiting in a lobby among servants, to the astonishment of all the spectators, until doctor Butts, the king's physician, having seen him by accident, communicated this circumstance to Henry, who forthwith sent an order that he should be admitted. When he appeared before the board, they gave him to understand they had received divers informations, affirming that all the heresies in England sprang from him and his chaplains. He, in his answer, conformed to the king's direction; and, perceiving them bent upon committing him to the Tower, told them he was sorry to be so used by those with whom he had sat so long at the same board. So saying, he presented the ring, at sight of which they were astonished and confounded, and repaired in a body to the king, who chid them severely for having treated the primate of England in such an unworthy manner. He said, he thought they had a wiser council than now he found they were. He laid his hand upon his breast, and declared, by the faith he owed to God, that he believed the archbishop was the most faithful of all his subjects. The duke of Norfolk endeavoured to excuse their conduct, by saying that all they intended was a trial, by which the archbishop's innocence would have been vindicated, so as to free him from all future aspersions. Henry replied with a frown, he would not suffer persons who were so dear to him to be handled in that fashion: he said he knew their factions and malice, and was resolved to extinguish the one and punish the other without mercy. In the mean time he commanded them to be reconciled to Cranmer, and the ceremony was performed in his presence.

A. C. 1546.

Queen Catherine in danger of being ruined.

The popish party were not so discouraged by this miscarriage, but that they attempted another stroke of still greater importance. The queen was a favourer of the reformation; and sermons were often preached in her apartments by ministers of that persuasion. The king was apprised of these particulars, at which he connived. He was even indulgent enough to bear her disputing with him on points of religion; and sometimes her zeal got the better of her discretion. One evening she had proceeded so far, that he was exasperated at her petulance: perhaps his vanity was mortified by her foiling him in the way of argument. When she quitted the apartment, he complained of her presumption to Gardiner, who fed his resentment with malicious insinuations; and, associating the chancellor in his design, represented the queen and her principal ladies as heretics who favoured the innovators, and had corresponded with Anne Askew. They even affirmed they were traitors as well as heretics, and inflamed Henry's passions in such an artful manner, that he subscribed certain articles against the queen, intended as the foundation of an impeachment. The chancellor, chancing to drop this paper, it was found by a person who delivered it to Catherine. She no sooner saw the king's subscription, than she concluded herself ruined, and was overwhelmed with fear and consternation. The agitation of her mind produced violent fits, of which Henry being informed, visited her in her chamber, and spoke to her with such expressions of tenderness as greatly contributed to her recovery. Next night she waited upon the king in his apartment; and he turning the conversation upon religious disputes, she said, that, conscious of the weakness of her sex, she, as in duty bound, would submit in these and all other points to his superior judgment. Henry, still piqued at her former opposition, replied, "Not so, by St. Mary! you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct,

"struck, not to be instructed." She then very artfully assured him, that she should never have presumed to argue with him on any subject, except to amuse the pain of his infirmities, or with a view to profit by his superior learning. Hearing this declaration, "Is it even so, sweetheart (cried he) then "we are perfect friends again." He, at parting, embraced her with great cordiality, assuring her she might depend upon his affection. Next day, while he walked with her in the garden, the chancellor appeared with the guard assembled, to conduct her and several other ladies to the Tower. When the king, stepping aside with him, was heard to call him knave, fool, beast, and ordered him to quit his presence: The queen, who knew not his business, interceded in his favour; and Henry exclaimed, "Poor soul, thou little knowest how ill "he deserves thy good offices!" Henry was totally alienated from the bishop of Winchester by his conduct on this occasion. He expelled him from the council; and tho' that prelate evaded further disgrace and punishment by the most abject submission, he could never retrieve any share of his sovereign's favour.

Herbert.
Burnett.

The protestants had still more cause to triumph in the ruin of the duke of Norfolk, who had been their most powerful and implacable enemy. The duke was a nobleman who had served the king with talents and fidelity; and his son the earl of Surrey was a young nobleman of great courage and vivacity, though not without a tincture of pride and affectation. The family was not only powerful in its own strength, but rendered still more important by being at the head of the popish party. Of course it became formidable to the earl of Hertford and Sir Thomas Seymour, who pretended to the management of affairs, in case of the king's decease. They knew the enmity which the Howards bore them, and dreaded their competition in a minority.

They

A. C. 1346.

They persuaded Henry that the earl of Surrey aspired at a marriage with the princess Mary, in which case he might embroil the government of young Edward. They even hinted he had designs upon the crown, and bore the arms of Edward the Confessor, without any badge of distinction or diminution. This was a string that Henry never heard touched without emotion. He resolved to sacrifice the family of Norfolk to the security of the succession. That unhappy family was divided in itself. The dutchess, who had lived some years in a state of separation from her husband, turned informer against him: his supposed concubine, Mrs. Holland, acted the same treacherous part. His daughter Mary, dutchess dowager of Richmond, was at variance with her brother the earl of Surrey, and enlisted herself among the number of his accusers, the chief of whom was Sir Richard Southwell, who charged him with infidelity to the king. The earl denied the charge, and challenged Southwell to single combat: indeed the whole imputation brought against this noble family amounted to no more than some hasty expressions of discontent, and the earl's bearing the arms of Edward the Confessor, while his father used those of England, with a distinction of labels of silver, which were peculiar to the prince of Wales. These armorial bearings had been authorised by the heralds; and, for a series of years, observed by the king, without giving offence: but, now that a pretence was wanting for the ruin of the Howards, they were deemed sufficient grounds for an attainder. The earl of Surrey was tried by a common jury, convicted, notwithstanding the excellent defence he made, condemned, and beheaded on Tower-hill. The father endeavoured to mollify the king by letters and submissions; but Henry's heart was rarely subject to tender impressions. The parliament meeting on the

the fourteenth day of January, a bill of attainder was brought against the duke of Norfolk, who could not have been convicted on a fair hearing before his peers; and this passing, received the royal assent from the lord chancellor, the earl of Hertford, and the lords St. John and Ruffel, joined in commission under the great seal for that purpose. The death warrant was immediately sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the duke would have been beheaded next morning, had not an event of greater consequence to the kingdom intervened, and prevented the execution.

A. C. 1546.

The duke of Norfolk attainted and condemned to death.

Henry had for some time perceived himself fast approaching the goal of life. On the eleventh day of December he had established the noble foundation of Trinity College in Cambridge; and on the thirtieth day of the same month, he made his will, bequeathing the crown to his son prince Edward and his issue; failing which, to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth; in default of whom and their issue, to the heirs of his nieces Frances and Eleanor, daughters of his sister Mary late queen of France; and after them, to the next lawful heir: so that the children of his eldest sister Margaret queen of Scotland, were excluded from their rank in the succession. He willed that his own daughters should forfeit their right of succession, should they marry without consent of the privy-council. In the mean time, to each of them he left ten thousand pounds, by way of dower, and three thousand for their subsistence, until they should be married. The queen was intitled to three thousand pounds in plate, and one thousand in money over and above her jointure. He left six hundred pounds a-year in land, to the dean and chapter of Windsor, for the maintenance of thirteen poor knights, and other pious uses. His executors were directed to pay his debts, repair any injuries he might have unknowingly committed,

Henry makes his will.

A. C. 1546. mitted, and confirm all his grants and promises not perfected at the time of his decease. Legacies were left to each of his executors, and many of his faithful servants. On the third day of January, he passed a grant of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, with the scite of Christ's church, and five hundred marks a-year to the city of London. Though Henry believed his malady was incurable, perhaps he did not think death was so very near; and no person would venture to tell him his situation, until Sir Anthony Denny, out of christian compassion, exhorted him to take care of his soul, as he, in all probability, had not many hours of life to enjoy. He thanked him for his charitable candour, owned he had been a great sinner; but, expressed his confidence in the mercies of Christ. When Denny proposed a ghostly director, he desired him to send for archbishop Cranmer, who had retired to Croydon, that he might not be present, nor concerned in the scandalous bill of attainder against the duke of Norfolk who had always been his enemy. Before he reached the palace, Henry was speechless, though not insensible; for, when the archbishop desired him to make some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ, he squeezed his hand with seeming fervour, and in a few minutes expired, on the

His death,

A. C. 1547.

Herbert.
Burnet.

and character.

Henry VIII. before he became corpulent, was a prince of a goodly personage, and commanding aspect,

aspect, rather imperious than dignified. He excelled in all the exercises of youth, and possessed a good understanding, which was not much improved by the nature of his education. Instead of learning that philosophy which opens the mind, and extends the qualities of the heart, he was confined to the study of gloomy and scholastic disquisitions, which served to cramp the ideas, and pervert the faculties of reason, qualifying him for the disputant of a cloister, rather than the law-giver of a people. In the first years of his reign, his pride and vanity seemed to domineer over all his other passions; though from the beginning he was impetuous, headstrong, impatient of contradiction and advice. He was rash, arrogant, prodigal, vain-glorious, pedantic, and superstitious. He delighted in pomp and pageantry, the baubles of a weak mind. His passions, soothed by adulation, rejected all restraint: and as he was an utter stranger to the finer feelings of the soul, he gratified them at the expence of justice and humanity, without remorse or compunction. He wrested the supremacy from the bishop of Rome, partly on conscientious motives, and partly for reasons of state and convenience. He suppressed the monasteries in order to supply his extravagance with their spoils; but he would not have made those acquisitions so easily, had not they been productive of advantage to his nobility, and agreeable to the nation in general. He was frequently at war; but the greatest conquest he obtained, was over his own parliament and people. Religious disputes had divided them into two factions. As he had it in his power to make either scale preponderate, each courted his favour with the most obsequious submission, and in trimming the ballance, he kept them both in subjection. In accustoming themselves to these abject compliances, they degenerated into slaves; and he from their prostitution

A. C. 1547: acquired the most despotic authority. He became rapacious, arbitrary, froward, fretful, and so cruel, that he seemed to delight in the blood of his subjects. He never betrayed the least symptoms of any tenderness in his disposition; and, as we have already observed, his kindness to Cranmer was an inconsistency in his character. He seemed to live in defiance of censure whether ecclesiastical or secular; he died in apprehension of futurity; and was buried at Windsor with idle processions, and childish pageantry *, which in those days passed for real taste and magnificence.

* Henry, by his first wife Catherine of Spain, had two sons, who died in their infancy, and a daughter Mary, who succeeded to the throne of England. Anne Boleyn was mother of Elizabeth, and a male child still-born. By Jane Seymour he had a son named Edward, his immediate successor. Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr, had no issue. By Eli-

sabeth Blount widow, of Sir Gilbert Taillebois, he had Henry Fitzroy, created knight of the garter, earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerset, warden of the Scottish marches, admiral of England, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. He was a young prince of promising parts, and died in the seventeenth year of his age.

EDWARD

E D W A R D VI.

HENRY VIII. was succeeded on the throne of England by his only son Edward VI. now in the tenth year of his age. At the time of his father's death he resided at Hertford with his sister Elizabeth, from whence he was conducted by his uncle the earl of Hertford, and Sir Thomas Brown, to the Tower of London, where he was received by the council in a body, and proclaimed king of England. Next day the late king's will being opened, it appeared that Edward's majority was fixed at the age of fifteen : that * sixteen persons were nominated as executors of the will, regents of the kingdom, and tutors to the young king ; and that these, or the majority of them, were empowered to regulate the affairs of the administration. They likewise found another council appointed, to be aiding and assisting to the executors when called upon for their advice †. Henry's will being read in public, the regents and counsellors immediately took possession of their several offices. Then some of the mem-

A. C. 1547.

Edward VI.
succeeds to
the throne.

* These were archbishop Cranmer, lord Wriothesley chancellor, lord St. John steward of the household, lord Russell keeper of the privy seal, earl of Hertford lord chamberlain, the lord viscount de Lisle, Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Durham, Sir Anthony Brown master of the horse, Sir William Paget secretary of state, Sir Edward North chancellor of the court of augmentations, Sir Edward Montague chief justice of the common pleas, Mr. Bromley one of the twelve judges, Sir Anthony Deany, Sir William Herbert gentleman of the privy-chamber, Sir Edward

Wotton treasurer of Calais, doctor Wotton dean of Canterbury and York, Stephen Gardener was expunged from the will by the king's own hand.

† The council consisted of the earls of Arundel and Essex, Sir Thomas Cheney treasurer, Sir John Gage comptroller of the household, Sir Anthony Wingfield chamberlain, Sir William Petri secretary of state, Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edward Pickham, Hayward. Herbert,

A. C. 1547. bers observing, that it would be troublesome to the people, and especially to foreign ministers, to address themselves to sixteen different persons of equal authority, proposed, that one of the number should be chosen as chief and president, under the title of Protector. This proposal was vehemently opposed by the chancellor, who foresaw the choice would fall upon the earl of Hertford, with whom he had been long at variance on account of religion. His objections, however, were over-ruled. That nobleman was chosen protector of the realm, and governor of the king's person, on this express condition, That he should do nothing without the consent of the other regents. While preparations were making for the funeral of Henry, and the coronation of his successor, the regency took an extraordinary step, on pretence of fulfilling the intentions of the late king, who had resolved to make some promotions among his courtiers. Evidence was examined touching the particulars of Henry's design, and in consequence of their depositions, the earl of Hertford was created duke of Somerset; the earl of Essex made marquis of Northampton; the title of earl of Warwick was conferred upon Dudley lord viscount de Lisle; chancellor Wriothesley was promoted to the earldom of Southampton; Sir Thomas Seymour was created baron Sudley; and Richard Willoughby, and Sheffield, were erected into barons of the same appellations. At the same time the duke of Somerset was created treasurer and marechal, vacant by the condemnation of the duke of Norfolk; and his brother the new baron Sudley was appointed admiral of England. After the obsequies of the late king, they proceeded to the coronation of Edward, which was performed on the twentieth day of February; and on this occasion an amnesty was published, from which however, the

The earl of Hertford chosen protector.

Hayward.

And created duke of Somerset.

A. C. Pub.

the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, Edward Courteney, eldest son of the marquis of Exeter, and three other persons were excluded. A. C. 1517.

The lord chancellor being a man of a fiery, ambitious, turbulent disposition, whose politics and religion were very different from those of the protector; this last resolved to seize the first opportunity to expel him from the regency; and he soon furnished him with a pretence. He granted a commission under the great seal to certain substitutes, to hear and decide causes in chancery in the same manner as if he himself were present. And this step he took of his own simple authority, without the consent of the king or other regents. The council being apprised of the affair, ordered the judges of the realm to give their opinions on the subject; and they unanimously declared, that the chancellor could not delegate his power to any other persons, without the consent of the king and regency; otherwise he forfeited his office, and became liable to fine and imprisonment. When he was made acquainted with this declaration in full council, he inveighed against the judges, and even reviled the council and protector. In a word, his behaviour incensed the members to such a degree, that he was confined to his own house, and deprived of the great seal, which was put into the hands of the lord St. John, until another chancellor could be appointed: but, the earl of Southampton was afterwards released, on his giving security for the payment of the fine to which he should be condemned. Somerset having removed this troublesome opponent, gave his colleagues to understand, that the French ambassador, and other foreign envoys, desired to be satisfied concerning the extent of his power, before they would treat with him on the subjects of their several embassies; and therefore, it would be necessary that his protectorship should be established by

*Hist. of the
Reform.*

A. C. 1547. patent. They thought the proposal was reasonable, and joined him in a petition to the king, who by patent constituted the duke of Somerset governor of his person, and protector of his realm and subjects. All the executors, except the earl of Southampton, were with the twelve additional counsellors, assigned to him for a council; but they were restrained from doing any thing without his consent and advice; whereas he was impowered to swear of the council any person he should think proper for that station, and in conjunction with any number of the counsellors which he might choose, to convene, annul, or change whatever they should think proper to alter or abolish. Thus he made himself absolutely master of the government, though in so doing, he intailed upon himself the hatred and envy of many other noblemen, by which he suffered severely in the sequel.

Since the death of Henry, two new treaties had been concluded with France. The first was a renewal of alliance between Francis and Edward; and the other related to the limits of the territory of Boulogne, and the fortifications which the two kings had erected in the neighbourhood of that place. It was agreed, that the English might finish the works they had begun at Boulemborg, Blackness, and Ambleteuse: and, That the French should have the same liberty with respect to those at St. Etienne; but discontinue their works at Portet and La Pointe. But, Francis dying before the ratification of this treaty, the politics of the court of France assumed another aspect under Henry II. his successor. The protector of England was no sooner informed of the death of Francis, than he dispatched a courier to Nicholas Wotton the English ambassador at Paris, directing him to receive the ratification of the new king, and see him swear to the observance of the treaties. By this time the inter-

Death of
Francis king
of France.

A. C. Pub.
Ninan.

rest of the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of A. C. 1547.
Guise, predominated at the court of France; and being devoted to the old religion, they exerted all their power in preventing the marriage between young Edward and their niece the queen of Scotland. They persuaded Henry, that it was his interest to recover Boulogne at any rate; and therefore he not only refused to ratify the treaties, but even disowned the ambassador whom his father had sent to London. Thus the unsettled limits of the territory of Boulogne, and the new fortifications, remained a subject of contention between the two crowns; and from Henry's refusing to confirm the alliance, it plainly appeared his intention was to infringe the treaty.

The eyes of Henry VIII. were no sooner closed, The protestants avow their principles. than the friends of the reformation congratulated themselves on the event. They no longer suppressed their sentiments on religion; but maintained their doctrines openly in preaching and teaching, even while the laws continued against them in full force. Indeed, at this juncture they had very little to fear from their adversaries. The king himself was bred up in the reformed religion by his preceptor doctor Coxe, and had already given surprising proofs of genius, capacity, and an amiable disposition, averse to cruelty and persecution. The protector professed the same doctrines, which were espoused by Cranmer of Canterbury, Holgate of York, Holbech of Lincoln, Goodrick of Ely, doctor Ridley, and Latimer, who was by this time released from prison. The protestants in Germany had received a private supply of fifty thousand crowns from the regency, which resolved to seize this favourable conjuncture for promoting the reformation. With this view they appointed visitors to examine all the churches, and empowered them

A. C. 1547. to abolish certain gross abuses which had crept into the worship, particularly that of images.
 Hayward.

The next affair that engrossed the protector's attention was the war with Scotland. Henry had on his death-bed laid strong injunctions upon his executors to effect, if possible, the match between Edward and Mary; and as the French party prevailed in Scotland, there was no prospect of executing what he had so much at heart, in any other way but by force of arms; the protector therefore began to make preparations for prosecuting the war in Scotland, while the French king declared, that he would not abandon his antient allies in their distress. At the desire of the French ambassador, the duke of Somerset consented to try the effect of a negotiation, before hostilities should be commenced. Conferences were opened on the fourth day of August; and Tonsal, chief of the English plenipotentiaries, was directed to break up the congress immediately, if the Scottish ambassadors had no power to consent to the marriage. Accordingly, as no such power was vested in them, the negotiation proved fruitless. The protector therefore entered Scotland in the beginning of September with an army of fifteen thousand infantry, and three thousand horse, well appointed, provided with a train of artillery. John Dudley earl of Warwick was the protector's lieutenant; and the cavalry was commanded by lord Gray, lord Dacres, and Sir Francis Bryan. The regent of Scotland, alarmed at this invasion, ordered the fire-cross to be carried through all parts of the realm, and made proclamation, that all men above sixteen years of age, and under sixty, should resort to Musselburgh with arms and provision. Thus summoned, a great number appeared at the place of rendezvous; so that the regent dismissed a great superfluity, after having retained an

6

army

The protector marches into Scotland.

army of thirty thousand men, well supplied with arms, ammunition, and ordnance. They took post near Musselburgh within four miles of Edinburgh, in order to attack the English in their march; and the duke of Somerset encamped at the village of Prestonpans, at the distance of about two miles from their front. While the two armies lay in this situation, the Scottish regent detached best part of his cavalry to insult the English quarters; and these being encountered by the lord Gray, and Sir Francis Bryan, were totally defeated, after an obstinate and furious engagement, in which the lord Home, and about eight hundred Scots, were left dead upon the field. Next day a trumpeter came with an insolent message from the Scottish general, permitting the protector to retire in peace to his own country; and proposing from the lord Huntley, that the quarrel should be decided by twenty against twenty, ten against ten, or by single combat between himself and the duke of Somerset. A proper answer was made to this bravado by the protector; and the earl of Warwick begged leave, that he might be allowed to accept of Huntley's challenge: but the duke would not grant his permission; and it afterwards appeared that Huntley had sent no such message. Before the protector would engage the enemy, he sent a letter to the Scottish regent, assuring him his intention was not to hurt the realm of Scotland, but rather to defend it, by promoting an union of the two kingdoms on fair and honourable terms, by virtue of the marriage to which the Scottish parliament had agreed in the most solemn manner. He pointed out the advantages that would accrue to Scotland from such a match. He proposed, that if all the nobility of the kingdom were not inclined to a peace upon such terms, hostilities should cease until the queen should be of age to choose for herself.

The

A.C. 1547.

The regent communicated these honourable proposals to his brother John archbishop of St. Andrews, and a few other individuals, who being elated with the hope of victory, advised him to conceal them from the rest of the nobility; and in the mean time diffused a report through the whole army, that the English were come to carry off the queen, and enslave the country. The soldiers believed this insinuation, and took to their arms in a tumultuary manner. Understanding that the English were in motion, they passed the river Esk, and took possession of a rising-ground, while the protector wheeled about, and encamped upon the hill of Pinkencleuch, near the side of the Frith, where their fleet lay at anchor. The enemy imagining he intended to reembark, quitted their advantageous ground, in order to attack them, and this precipitate step was the cause of their destruction. The English began to be in want of provision; and had the Scots maintained their post, the protector could not have retreated without exposing his army to the most imminent danger. But, the impetuosity of the enemy saved him the risque of any such disaster. On the tenth day of September they divided their forces into three bodies. The first, under the command of the earl of Angus, was flanked on the right with four or five pieces of artillery, and on the left with about four hundred horsemen. The second line was commanded by the regent. The third by the earl of Argyle, who had brought into the field four thousand Highlanders; and these were disposed on the left flanks of the second and third bodies. The protector seeing them abandon their post, congratulated himself upon the event; and caused his army to be drawn up in order of battle. The van was commanded by the earl of Warwick, and took post on the side of the hill, where the great artillery was post-

posted. The main body, under the general, was drawn up partly on the hill, and partly on the plain, and the rear was extended on the plain, at some distance from the van and center. The lord Gray, who commanded the men at arms, was posted on the left wing, so as to flank the Scots; but, forbidden to charge until the front of both armies should be engaged. The enemy advancing along the shore, were galled from an English galley, the shot of which killed the lord Graham, and threw the Highlanders into confusion. The lord Gray perceiving their disorder, advanced immediately to charge the enemy's van in flank; but, met with such a warm reception from their spearmen, that he himself was dangerously wounded; and as the action happened in broken ground, his men at arms were actually routed, and the standard in great danger of being lost. Had the Scots been furnished with horse to pursue this advantage, in all probability, the English would have been intirely defeated; tho' the wind and sun were full in the faces of the enemy; but, as they were destitute of cavalry, the lord Gray had time to rally his horse behind his infantry. The earl of Warwick detached Sir Peter Mewcas, and Peter Gamboa, a Spanish officer, with all the musquetry to attack the Scots, whose Highland archers were not yet come up. The English musquetry advancing to a slough, where the horse had been discomfited, fired in the faces of the enemy. These were sustained by the archers, who shot their arrows over the heads of the musqueteers; at the same time, the artillery planted on the hill on the left, and the ordnance of the galley anchored close to the shore on the left, made such havock amongst them, that they fell in heaps, without having it in their power to annoy their enemies. In this distress, their van fell back a little, in hope of drawing the English over the slough and broken ground, that they might

A. C. 1547. might have an opportunity of acting hand to hand; but the Highlanders in the second line, imagining their front was defeated, betook themselves to flight in a body: and this circumstance overwhelmed their whole army with consternation. Disorder and rout immediately ensued. The Scots threw down their arms, and fled in the utmost confusion. Then the English cavalry being rallied, fell in among the fugitives, and meeting with no resistance, made such a terrible carnage, that they lay like sheep in a field of pasture. The whole surface of the ground was strewed with spears and swords; the river Esk, and several petty brooks were swelled with the blood of the slain, which amounted to fourteen thousand, in so much, that when the slaughter was over, the very soldiers were ashamed of their own cruelty; for the English did not lose above fifty horsemen, and their infantry did not strike a stroke. About three thousand ecclesiastics, who made a separate body for themselves, were massacred without mercy. Fifteen hundred of the vanquished were taken prisoners, and among these the earl of Huntley, the lords Yester, Hamilton, and Wemys, together with the master of Sempil. Nor was this the only overthrow which the Scots sustained in the course of this year. While the regent's attention was wholly turned against the duke of Somerset, the lord Wharton, and the earl of Lennox entering Scotland by the western Marches, took several forts, and ravaged the whole country; so that the earl of Bothwell, and many gentlemen of Teviotdale and the Merse, rather than be continually harrassed by these depredations, submitted unto the king of England, and were received into his protection. The duke of Somerset, had he taken advantage of the consternation which filled all Scotland immediately after the battle of Mulsleburgh or Pinkey, might have subdued the whole country without any further opposition.

Defeats the
Scots at
Mulsle-
burgh.

sion. But, he was prevented from reaping the fruits of his success by the intrigues of his brother in England. Having gathered the spoils of the field, in which he found thirty thousand jacks and swords, and thirty pieces of cannon that were transported to England, he ordered his navy to scour the Frith, in which they took or destroyed a great number of Scottish vessels. Then he plundered and burned Leith, and all the neighbouring villages on the sea-coast, made an unsuccessful attempt on the castle of Edinburgh, fortified the island of St. Columba in the Frith, and the castle of Broughty in the mouth of the Tay; and the season being far advanced; returned to England, where he was gratified by the king with lands to the value of five hundred pounds a-year.

Hayward,
Buchanan,
Burnet.

He acquired great popularity by this prosperous expedition, but at the same time attracted the envy of divers noblemen: nor did he seem to bear his fortune with moderation; for he obtained a patent under the great seal, to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne under the cloth of state, and to enjoy all the honours and privileges that at any time any of the uncles of the kings of England had possessed. In his absence the visitors had performed their task without opposition, except from Gardiner and Bonner, who refused to obey the order of council, alledging it was contrary to the agreement by which they had engaged to make no change in religion during the king's minority. These prelates being examined in council, and persisting in their obstinacy, were committed to prison. Gardiner expostulated with the protector in a letter, and the princess Mary wrote to him on the same subject; but, the duke was bent upon protecting the reformation, and therefore payed very little regard to their remonstrances. The lord Rich

The reformation
countenanced by the
protector.

aa. Pub.

on

A.C. 1547.

And confirmed by
the parliament.

on the fourth day of November, manifested the utmost attachment to the protector. They repealed all the acts touching high-treason, which had passed since the reign of the third Edward; all acts of felony specified since the rupture with the pope; the statute which vested the king's proclamation with the power of an act of parliament; two acts passed against the Lollards; and the famous statute of the six articles. The king's supremacy was confirmed a-new; and the pains of treason were decreed against those heirs of the crown mentioned in Henry's will, who should attempt to disturb the order of the succession: their adherents and abettors were likewise subjected to the same penalties. The benefit of the clergy, and the privileges of sanctuary were restored; from these however, assassins and four sorts of thieves were excluded. It was decreed, That the act empowering Henry's successor to annul the laws made in his minority, should take place with regard to what should be done hereafter, but not in that which had been already transacted. Private masses were prohibited, and the people permitted to receive the communion in both species. The king was impowered to fill vacant bishoprics; so that sham elections were intirely abolished. The cognizance of matrimonial and testamentary causes was transferred from the ecclesiastical courts to those of the regal jurisdiction; and they passed a law, enacting, That if any common person should refrain from working, or at least from offering to work for the space of three days, he should be branded in the face with a red hot iron, and become the slave of the informer. This rigorous decree was levelled against the monks, who since the dissolution of the monasteries, instead of working for their livelihood, strolled from family to family, and endeavoured to breed disturbance in the state. Nevertheless, this law was not rigorously executed, and soon

soon repealed by a subsequent parliament. Finally, A. C. 1547. they granted to Edward all the foundations for chantries, chapels, and colleges, of which Henry had not already taken possession. This act met with great opposition from several prelates, and from Cranmer in particular. He hoped to find some opportunity of converting those benefactions to religious purposes; whereas, by being in the hands of the king, the church would be deprived of them for ever. But, he was not able to carry his point. The nobility thirsted after the effects of the church, and these they easily obtained from the court: and the executors of Henry's will wanted money to pay his debts and legacies. The session was concluded with an act of amnesty, from which however, the prisoners in the Tower were excluded; but as Gardiner had been confined in the Fleet, he enjoyed the benefit of the statute.

Among those who envied the protector, was his own brother Thomas the admiral, a man of uncommon talents, though proud, turbulent, and untractable. He could not endure the distinction which king Henry had made between him and his elder brother, with whom he thought himself equally intitled to a share in the administration. He had addressed himself to the princess Elizabeth on the subject of marriage; but seeing no prospect of succeeding in that pursuit, he insinuated himself into the affection of the queen dowager, who gave him her hand in private, immediately after the death of her former husband. He found means to obtain from the king a letter, expressing his desire that such a match should be effected; and then he published his marriage, in open defiance of the protector. His next step was to cabal and make a party among the nobility, who, as they hated his brother, fomented his ambition. He bribed the king's domestics to his interest; and young Edward frequently

*Intrigues of
the admiral
against his
brother the
protector.*

A. C. 1549: quently went to his house, on pretence of visiting his step-mother. There he ingratiated himself with his sovereign, by an affected affability, officious complaisance, and supplying him with money to distribute among his servants and favourites, without the knowledge of his governor. The protector being informed of these insidious proceedings, expostulated with him on the baseness of his conduct, and he answered in such a manner as gave the duke to understand, he had nothing to hope from his brotherly affection. In the protector's absence, he redoubled all his art and insinuation, and obtained a new patent for admiral, with an additional appointment. Sir William Paget perceiving the progress he daily made in the king's affection, wrote to the duke on the subject; and he finished the campaign in Scotland with all possible dispatch, that he might return in time to counterwork his machinations. But, before he arrived in England, the admiral had engaged in his party some privy counsellors, several noblemen of distinction, and a great number of the members of the lower house of parliament. He prevailed upon the king to write a letter to the two houses with his own hand, desiring the admiral might be appointed his governor; but, before this was delivered, the council being apprized of his design, sent deputies to assure him, if he did not desist, they would deprive him of his office, send him prisoner to the Tower, and prosecute him on the last act of parliament, by which he was subjected to the penalty of high treason, for attempting to disturb the order of government. Thus intimidated, he humbled himself before the council; and was seemingly reconciled to the protector. Yet he still nourished the same design in secret; and his brother suspecting his sentiments, employed spies to inform him of all his secret transactions.

In the course of this year the emperor defeated and took John Frederick, elector of Saxony, whose territories and electorate he bestowed upon that prince's cousin Maurice, who had assisted him against his own relations. The landgrave of Hesse made his peace with Charles, and repaired to his court on the faith of a safe-conduct: notwithstanding which he was arrested; the emperor justifying this outrage by a word inserted in the safe-conduct on purpose to trapan the landgrave. The protestants, thus deprived of their chief, were obliged to submit to whatever terms the emperor thought fit to impose. The archbishop of Cologne, who had embraced that religion, saw himself compelled to renounce the double dignity of archbishop and elector. The pope himself became jealous of the emperor's prosperity, and removed the council from Trent to Bologna; while great numbers of the protestants fled for refuge into England, where the most remarkable men among them received pensions from the ministry of Edward. In the beginning of the next year the council made several alterations in the ceremonies of religion. It forbade the use of candles on Candle-mas-day, palms on Palm-Sunday, and creeping to the cross on Good Friday. It left the people at liberty to practise or lay aside auricular confession; and ordered all the images to be removed from churches. All the popish party were alarmed at these changes, which produced great murmurings amongst the priests and people of the old religion; and when the proclamation that confirmed these changes was published, Gardiner inveighed against it openly, on his old maxim, that there should be no innovation during the king's minority. Being summoned again before the council, he submitted to the authority of the board, and was ordered to preach a sermon at St. Paul's, maintaining that the king's authority was the same before as after his majority.

A. C. 1547.

Troubles of
the prote-
stants in
Germany.

A. C. Pub.

A. C. 1548.

Sleidan,

A. C. 1548. majority. He performed this task so little to the satisfaction of the regency, that they committed him to the Tower; and this act of severity intimidated the whole party to such a degree, that they conformed to the new ordinance, without further hesitation.

Burnet.

Campaign
in Scotland.

The protector had offered a truce for ten years to the regent of Scotland; but that nobleman being entirely governed by French councils, rejected his proposals, in hope of being previously succoured by the king of France; so that the duke of Somerset, being obliged to continue the war, took a number of Landsquenets into his pay, and appointed the earl of Shrewsbury his lieutenant. The regent of Scotland opened the campaign with the siege of Broughty-castle, which he could not reduce; while the English troops fortified Haddington and Lauder, and made incursions to the gates of Edinburgh. In the month of May the regent, receiving a reinforcement of six thousand men, and some artillery from France, under the command of Desse d'Españvilliers, reinvaded Broughty, which he took, putting all the garrison to the sword. The queen-mother passionately desired that young Mary should be educated in the French court, where her two brothers had such influence; and the king of France, in order to facilitate the consent of the regent, created him duke of Chateleraut, with a yearly revenue of two thousand livres. Thus gratified, he allowed the young queen to be put on board of the fleet which brought over the soldiers; and this sailing north about round the Orkneys and Ireland, landed her safely at Bretagne, from whence she was conducted to Paris. The French ships made this circuit in order to avoid the English navy under admiral Seymour, who cruized in the frith of Edinburgh, and landed in several parts of Fife; but was, by the gallantry of Dun, repulsed with disgrace.

grace. By this time the Scots and French undertook the siege of Haddington, and carried on their operations vigorously, until the English forces approaching under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, they abandoned the enterprize. The earl, having thrown into the place a supply of men, provision, and ammunition, advanced to Mussleburgh, where the enemy lay intrenched, and offered them battle; which they not choosing to accept, he suddenly retired to England. Immediately after his departure, Desse, the French general, attempted to surprise Haddington; but the garrison, being seasonably alarmed, obliged him to retreat with great loss and precipitation, even after part of his troops had entered the town. The English in this place were occasionally relieved by the garrison of Berwick, until Sir Thomas Palmer, with fifteen hundred horse, was routed and taken; the greater part of his followers being slain. In order to compensate for this disaster, the lord Gray entered Scotland by the West, and ravaged Teviotdale and Liddesdale, from whence he carried off great booty. At length, the protector, perceiving that he could not maintain Haddington, without exposing his troops to unnecessary danger, detached the earl of Rutland with six thousand men to demolish the fortifications, and bring off the artillery. This service was performed without loss: and the earl, in his retreat to Berwick, laid waste the country; but, at the same time, the Scots took the castle of Hume by surprize, and all the English in the place were either killed or taken.

At this conjuncture a quarrel happened between the pope and the emperor. Charles protested against the translation of the council to Bologna; and the pope rejected his protest. Then the emperor, to shew his independence, proposed articles of accommodation to the protestants. These were known

A. C. 1548. by the appellation of Interim, because they were no other than expedients to be used, until a council could be held in some town of Germany. Though the expressions were softened, they at bottom contained almost all the doctrines of the Roman church : yet they allowed that a man's marriage should be no objection to his receiving the order of priesthood ; and that the communion, in both species, should not be withheld from those who might demand it in that manner. This Interim was presented in a diet convoked at Augsburg, and enacted into a decree, notwithstanding the protests of several towns of the empire. While the emperor thus endeavoured to crush the reformation in Germany, it gained ground every day in England under the protection of Cranmer and the ministry. The parliament meeting on the twenty-fourth day of November, enacted a statute, by which priests were permitted to marry ; and by another confirmed the new liturgy, on which commissioners had been employed in the summer. This is nearly the same liturgy which is now used in the church of England.

The emperor grants the Interim in favour of the protestants.

Sleidan.

Hist. of the Reformation.

The protector had nothing more at heart than the progress of this work, though he was obliged to proceed gradually, because the greatest part of the inferior clergy was still attached to the old religion, and he himself had a great number of enemies, among whom his own brother was the most violent and dangerous. The queen dowager, having died in September of the preceding year, the admiral renewed his addresses to the princess Elizabeth ; but as the will of the late king expressly excluded her from the succession, should she marry without the consent of her father's executors, he contrived a scheme for gratifying his ambition in another manner. He is said to have formed the design of making himself master of the king's person, and seizing the reins of government into his own hands : for the

execution of which project he had assembled two thousand men in different places. The council, having received some intimation of his practices against the government, committed him prisoner to the Tower, and appointed commissioners to take the depositions of his accusers. These taxed him with having conspired against the administration, protected pirates, and committed acts of violence against the subjects of different states, which were at peace with England. The protector, perceiving that his authority would be precarious as long as his brother had any share in the government, exhorted him to resign his office and retire from court; but finding him deaf to his remonstrance, he resolved to sacrifice him to his own safety. His accusation was reduced to three and thirty articles; and certain members of the council were sent to interrogate him on the particulars. He refused to answer, demanding a legal trial, and that he might be brought face to face with his accusers. Next day the council repaired to the Tower in a body, when he still insisted on his former demand, which, however, was not granted. Then he desired they would leave the articles of his accusation, that he might examine them at his leisure, and prepare for his defence: this request was likewise denied. The council then resolved, that he should be condemned in parliament by an act of attainder. In the meantime it appointed commissioners to hear what he had to say in his own defence. The king was persuaded to signify his disapprobation of the admiral; and, the commissioners making their report, a bill of attainder was brought into the house of peers. It accused him of an attempt to seize the person of the king, and the government of the realm; of laying up great store of provision and money; of endeavouring to espouse the lady Elizabeth, and of persuading the king in his tender age to take upon

The admiral convicted of high treason, and beheaded.

A. C. 1549. himself the administration of affairs. The bill passed both houses with very little opposition; and received the royal assent. The admiral was beheaded on the tenth day of March, contrary to the sense of the nation in general, who thought the articles of accusation frivolous in themselves; and that the admiral had been cruelly dealt with, in being condemned upon such allegations, without having an opportunity of making a defence, or confronting his accusers. But the chief odium fell upon the protector, whose character is not to be vindicated from the imputation of cruelty and injustice in the affair of this prosecution.

Haywood.
Bishop of
Hereford.

Hist. of the
Reforma-
tion.

Two per-
sons burnt
for heresy.

The king having received a subsidy from the clergy and the commons, for the conquest of Scotland, the parliament was prorogued till November. The new liturgy was received in all the churches, and met with no opposition but from the princess Mary, whom the king and council resolved to humble: but the emperor interceded in her behalf, and, rather than disoblige that potentate, they allowed her to enjoy her own religion in peace. The reformers now began to persecute in their turn: Joan Bocher, an ignorant woman, being convicted of heresy, because she adhered to the sect of the anabaptists, was condemned to the flames, though the young king refused to sign the death-warrant, until he was pressed by Cranmer; and then vanquished by his importunity, declared that if he did wrong, the sin should be upon the head of the archbishop. In the sequel, another person was burned for the same crime in Smithfield.

At this juncture the kingdom was exposed to very dangerous commotions, which had been brewing since the late reign. When the monasteries were suppressed, a prodigious number of monks were obliged to earn their subsistence by their labour; so that every species of business was overstocked,

The

The lands of the monasteries had been formerly farmed out to common people, so as to employ a great number of hands; and, the rents being moderate, they were enabled to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture: but now, these lands being possessed by the nobility, the rents were raised; and the farmers, perceiving that wool was a better commodity than corn, turned all their fields into pasture-ground. This practice was attended with divers inconveniences. The price of meal increased, to the unspeakable hardship of the lower class of people; and, as few hands were required to manage pasture-grounds, a great number of poor people was utterly deprived of subsistence; while the nation was filled with murmurs and complaints against the nobility, who were the sources of this misfortune. The protector espoused the cause of the sufferers: he appointed commissioners to examine whether or not the possessors of church-lands fulfilled the conditions on which those lands had been sold by the crown; he demolished a royal park at Hampton-court, of which the inhabitants of that district complained, and took several other steps for the relief of the common people. This conduct intailed upon him the hatred of the nobility. In the last session of parliament the lords had projected an act, empowering the possessors of church-lands to farm them in any manner they should think proper; but the bill was rejected by the lower house. Nevertheless, the lords continued to inclose their grounds, and the peasants imagined their design was to reduce them again into servitude. On this supposition, the common people of Wiltshire and Somersetshire, assembling in a great body, began to pull down the inclosures; but they were soon dispersed by Sir William Herbert, afterwards earl of Pembroke. Insurrections happened at the same time in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire,

A. C. 1549. shire, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leice-
 Insurrections in different parts of sterhire, Worcestershire, and Rutlandshire: these
 England, however were appeased by the interposition of moderate persons.

This storm was scarce overblown, when still more dangerous commotions were excited in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. Into the first of these counties the protector detached the lord Gray with fifteen hundred horse and foot, who, falling upon them, slew a great number; and of the prisoners divers were executed. The insurgents of Devonshire, amounting to the number of ten thousand, were headed by one Humphrey Arundel, an experienced soldier, and encouraged by the sermons of some ecclesiastical incendiaries. They sent articles to the king, demanding that curates should administer baptism at all times of necessity: that their children might be confirmed by the priests whensoever they should resort unto him: That the mass should be celebrated without any man's communication with the priest: That they might have a reserve of the Lord's body in their churches: That they might have holy bread and holy water: That God's service might be said and sung with an audible voice in the choir: That priests should live in celibacy: and, That the six articles should be used as they were in the time of Henry, until the king should be of age. These demands the ministry answered by a formal manifesto, concluding with an offer of a general pardon, should they return to their own homes: but the popish monks among them, who had already converted this rebellion into a religious affair, persuaded them that this lenity was the effect of fear; that the ministry intended to tax their sheep and cattle, and raise an excise upon all their drink and provision. Thus instigated, they undertook the siege of Exeter which was gallantly defended by the inhabitants.

John lord Russel, privy-seal, had been sent against them with a small body of forces, and taken up his quarters at Honiton, from whence he marched to the relief of Exeter, in hope of being able to throw succours into the town: but the insurgents had taken such precautions as baffled his endeavours; and, in his retreat, he found himself encompassed by a great number, through which he fought his way back to Honiton. The citizens of Exeter were reduced to great extremity, when the lord Gray joined the lord Russel with a strong reinforcement. Then they marched towards Exeter, routed the rebels with great slaughter, and relieved the city, which was recompensed for its loyalty with an addition of revenue, and an extension of its liberties. The insurgents, not yet dispirited, assembled on Clifton-heath, with a crucifix in a covered waggon, adorned with tapers and trumpery; and they were again charged by the lord Gray, who made a terrible carnage. Their ringleaders were taken and hanged, and several innocent persons afterwards suffered from the cruelty of Sir Anthony Kingston, provost-marshal of the king's army.

A. C. 1549.

The Insurgents besiege Exeter;

but are defeated and quelled by the lord Gray.

The sedition in Norfolk appeared still more terrible. The malcontents increased to the number of sixteen thousand, under the conduct of one Kit a tanner, and Coniers an ecclesiastic, who performed the office of their chaplain. They broke down inclosures, ravaged the country, and denounced vengeance against the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. They presented articles of complaint to the king, demanding, That lands and farms should be reduced to their ancient rents: That the price of wool should be lowered; and, That all inclosures should be taken away. The king promised that all their grievances should be redressed in parliament; and, in the mean time, offered to indulge them with an amnesty, if they would lay down their arms and disperse.

A. C. 1549. disperse. They rejected this proffer with disdain, established their head-quarters at Moushold, where Kit the tanner, and a committee, sat in judgment under a large tree, since known by the name of the Oak of reformation. They undertook the siege of Norwich; which having reduced, they imprisoned the mayor and some of the principal citizens. At length, lord William Parre, marquis of Northampton, taking the field with fifteen hundred men, besides a small number of Italian musqueteers under the Malatesta, marched directly towards Norwich, which the rebels had evacuated. He took possession of the city without opposition: and the insurgents giving the assault in the night, were repulsed with considerable loss; but in the morning they renewed the attack with such fury, that they entered the town, and the marquis was obliged to retreat, after lord Sheffield and a good number of his men had been slain in the conflict: for the inhabitants, in general, favoured the rebels; and, while the king's troops were engaged with them in the streets, annoyed them from the windows and balconies. This discomfiture of the marquis was no sooner known in London, than the earl of Warwick was sent to his assistance with six thousand infantry, fifteen hundred horse, and a train of artillery, provided for the war in Scotland. When he arrived at Norwich he summoned the rebels to surrender, assuring them they should have the benefit of a free pardon: but his proposal being rejected, he planted his artillery against the town; and, a breach being made, entered by assault. One hundred and thirty of the insurgents were slain, and sixty being taken, were hanged up immediately by martial law: nevertheless, some of his waggons falling into the hands of the enemy, supplied them with ammunition, which they began to want. The execution of their confederates served only to increase their rage.

rage. They poured in like a tide at one of the gates, A. C. 1549. which was guarded with artillery; and, notwithstanding a very obstinate opposition, carried off the cannon, together with some carts of ammunition: even the boys behaved so desperately on this occasion, that they were seen to pull out the arrows from their bodies, and deliver them to their own archers. Emboldened by this success they battered the city wall, and then storming the breach, were repulsed with great difficulty. Influenced by a supposed prophecy*, they quitted the hill of Moushold; and, taking possession of a valley called Duffendale, sent a defiance to the earl of Warwick. This nobleman, having received a reinforcement of fourteen hundred horse, sent them another offer of a general pardon; from which, however, some of their ringleaders were excepted. They refusing to accept it on these terms, he ordered his whole cavalry to attack them in the valley, where they were drawn up in some sort of order, and had placed in the front the gentlemen they had taken prisoners, bound in couples, that they might bear the first brunt of the battle. The king's troops however, spared these unhappy captives, and fell upon the rebels with such vigour that they were quickly put into disorder, and began to fly with great precipitation. The pursuit was continued three miles with such slaughter, that three thousand lay dead upon the spot. Those who guarded their artillery and baggage had fortified themselves with waggons and palisadoes, and declared they would fight to the last drop of their blood; but, upon promise of pardon from the earl's own mouth, they laid down their arms, and submitted. Kit Rebellion in Norfolk quashed by the earl of Warwick. their ringleader escaped from the field; but, being Hayward, Godwyn.

* The prophecy ran in this strain : With clubs and clouted shoon,
The country knuffs, Hob, Dick, and Shall fill up Duffendale
Hick, With slaughtered bodies soon.

A. C. 1549. taken next day in a barn, with his brother, was hung in chains on Norwich castle; his brother was hanged on Wymondham steeple, and nine of their accomplices suffered on the oak of reformation.

Another in-
surrection in
Yorkshire.

While Norfolk was exposed to these commotions, a third sedition broke out in Yorkshire, where William Ombler, a man of some distinction, with Thomas Dale, a parish clerk, and one Stevenson, misled by a ridiculous prophecy, assembled about three thousand people by ringing bells and firing beacons, as if the coast had been invaded, and persuaded them to take arms to restore the church to her antient rights, humble the rich, and relieve the poor, and redress the grievances of the nation. They murdered several persons out of meer wantonness; and, marching into the East-riding, increased to a formidable number: but, no sooner was the king's pardon presented, than they began to disperse; and, the ringleaders being abandoned, were, with four of their accomplices, executed at York. These insurrections being quelled, the protector, who had acted during the whole disturbance with remarkable lenity, now published a general amnesty, in order to restore the peace of the kingdom; and this indulgence confirmed the hatred of the nobility, which he had already incurred, as well as of some privy-counsellors, who resented his presuming to act in such an affair without their concurrence.

Henry II. of France, resolving to make advantage of these disturbances, equipped a navy, in order to attack a fleet of English ships lying at anchor in the island of Jersey; but they met with such a warm reception that they thought proper to retire, though not before they had sustained considerable damage. Then the French king, entering the Boulonnois, reduced several castles; but was vigorously repulsed from the fort of Bullenberg, from which, however, the English withdrew their artillery, and
blew

blew up the fortifications. In September Henry A.C. 1549. undertook the siege of Boulogne; but, his army being infected with the plague, he himself retired to Paris, leaving the conduct of the siege to Gaspar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, who, after some ineffectual endeavours, converted the siege into a blockade. The protector was not a little disturbed by these hostilities, especially when he understood that Henry was on the point of concluding an alliance with the protestants in Germany. The king's coffers were so empty that he could not maintain a war without demanding new subsidies, which would excite fresh murmurs among the people; and the sinister accidents of war might furnish his enemies with pretences for condemning his conduct: besides, he foresaw that war would retard the progress of the reformation. Moved by these considerations, he proposed in council that peace with France should be procured at the expence of restoring Boulogne, which cost the kingdom an incredible sum of money, and would be a perpetual bone of contention while it remained in the hands of the English: whereas by giving it up, they would not only secure an advantageous peace with France, but also detach that power from the interest of Scotland. The council, having taken this proposal into consideration, determined that Boulogne should not be restored; but that an ambassador should be sent to conclude an alliance with the emperor.

The protector proposes to give up Boulogne.

Sir William Paget was immediately dispatched for this purpose; and, in the mean time, the protector's enemies employed emissaries to blacken his character. They presented him as a parricide, a traitor, and a sacrilegious tyrant, who not only betrayed the interest of his country, but, in order to gratify his pride, destroyed churches and tombs, that he might use the materials for building his own superb palace of Somerset-House. They taxed him with

Clamours against him

A. C. 1549. with having betrayed the forts in the Boulonnois, by leaving them unprovided for defence; with having abandoned Haddington in Scotland, seized the administration into his own hands; rejected the advice of council, mismanaged the affairs of government; and, when Paget returned without having succeeded in his negotiation, they affirmed he was instructed by the protector to avoid an alliance with the emperor, that he might have a pretence for resigning Boulogne. The protector being informed of these suggestions, began to be apprehensive of a design to carry off the person of the king, by corrupting his servants; and therefore he employed some of his own domestics near his majesty, with directions to watch over all his actions. On the sixth day of October, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel, Sir Edward North, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Wotton, and doctor Wotton dean of Canterbury, repaired to the bishop of Ely's house in Holborn, to hold a council, as if there had been no other members; and the king sending secretary Petre to know the reason of their meeting, they detained him, to assist at their deliberations. They began by considering the state of the kingdom; and laid the blame of all the disorders which had happened at home, and all the losses sustained abroad, upon the protector. They declared their intention was to confer with him on these subjects; but, understanding he had armed his domestics, and surrounded the king with a guard, they would not expose themselves to the violence of his designs. They sent for the mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, together with the lieutenant of the Tower, and forbade them expressly to acknowledge the duke of Somerset as protector. This last promised to comply with the order; but the others made an equivocal answer: though all of them seem-

Several
lords of the
council de-
clare against
him.

seemed to favour the proceedings of this committee. A. C. 1542.

The protector was no sooner informed of these transactions, than he sent the king to Windsor, and armed the inhabitants of that place and Hampton-court for his security : and next day the malcontents were joined by the chancellor, lord Riche, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Edward Montague. Thus reinforced, they wrote a letter to the king, complaining of the duke of Somerset ; and ordered the archbishop Paget to take care that his majesty should be served by his own domestics. On the eighth day of October they repaired to Guildhall, where they declared their sole aim was to deliver the king from the hands of the duke of Somerset, who minded nothing but his own private advantage ; and the burghers of London answered aloud, that they would support them to the utmost of their power.

The duke finding himself abandoned by the citizens of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, was overwhelmed with despondence : he assembled those members of the council who had not yet forsaken him, and offered to submit to the judgment of any two of them, joined to a like number of the malcontents. The consequence of this pusillanimous declaration was his being immediately deserted by the lord Russel, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Wentworth, and Baker, speaker of the house of commons. At length the malcontents declared him unworthy of being protector, and published a manifesto for the justification of their conduct. Then they wrote a letter to the king, importing, That his father had appointed them executors of his will and regents of the kingdom : That they had elected the duke of Somerset to exercise the office of protector, on the express condition, that he should do nothing without their appro-

A. C. 1549: approbation; but, that he had transgressed these terms, and made himself absolute master of the government: for which reason, deeming him unworthy of the trust, they desired his majesty would allow them to execute the office with which they had been invested by the late king, and dismiss the troops which the duke of Somerset had assembled about his majesty's person. The archbishop of Canterbury and Paget advised the king and the duke to comply with the demands of the council, which had already sent deputies to Windsor to prevent the escape of the protector and some of his confidants. When Edward signified his assent to their proposals, they went to him in a body, and met with a gracious reception: and all the duke's friends, except Cecil, were sent to the Tower; he himself, being brought before the council, was accused of having violated the condition upon which he was chosen protector: of having treated with ambassadors, and disposed of bishoprics and governments by his sole authority: of having held the court of requests in his own house: of having debased the current coin of the kingdom: of having published proclamations touching the inclosures of land, contrary to the deliberations of the council: of having neglected to suppress, and even of having supported and favoured the insurrections: of having neglected to supply the forts of Boulonnois with provision and ammunition, so that they fell into the hands of the enemy: of having endeavoured to prejudice the king against the members of the council, by false insinuations: of having proclaimed them traitors: of having maliciously alarmed his majesty, by sending him suddenly to Windsor, thereby endangering his health: of having armed his own friends and domestics, while the king's servants were left defenceless; and of having intended to fly to Jersey or Guernsey. On these articles of impeachment, which he had
not

He is accused of divers misdemeanours,

not time to answer, he was sent to the Tower : and the council appointed six lords to act as governors to the king, two at a time officiating alternately. Then the earl of Warwick appeared to be the principal promoter of the protector's ruin ; for the other members of the council permitted him, without the least opposition, to assume the reins of government.

A. C. 1549.

And committed to the Tower.

Hayward,

The enemies of the reformation triumphed in the fall of Somerset, persuaded that Warwick was a catholic in his heart, as he maintained such an intimate correspondence with the earl of Southampton. Bonner and Gardiner, who continued prisoners in the Tower, wrote letters to him, congratulating him upon having freed his country from such a tyrant ; and people began to imagine the duke of Norfolk would be set at liberty. They were mistaken in their conjectures ; Warwick had no religion but ambition. He knew the young king was strongly attached to the new doctrines, and it was his interest to gain the favour of his sovereign. Bonner was brought before the council, and made acquainted with the subjects of complaint laid to his charge. He was ordered to preach a sermon in St. Paul's church, maintaining that the authority of a minor king is equal to that of a king come to the age of maturity. In his sermon, which was preached before a very numerous audience, he did not once mention the subject ; but expatiated on the real presence in the sacrament, and inveighed against those who did not believe transubstantiation. William Latimer and John Hooper informing against him, a commission was granted to the archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, with the two secretaries of state, and the dean of St. Paul's, to try him in a summary way. His deportment, when he entered the court, was ridiculously extravagant ; he pretended that he did not see his judges, until they

A. C. 1549. were pointed out to him by one of the bye-standers.

When the evidences were examined, he said one talked like a goose, and another like a woodcock; he treated the court with contempt, and laughed at the people, calling them fools and dunces; doctor Hooper, he affirmed was an ass indeed: he told secretary Smith that he was a liar; and being reprimanded by Cranmer, who said he ought to be sent to prison for the insolence of his behaviour, he replied, that he cared not whither they sent him, provided they did not send him to the devil; but thither he would not go. He said he had a few goods, a poor carcase, and a soul; the two former were in their power, the last was in his own. The court was several times adjourned; at length, finding his defence could not avail him, he appealed to the king, and was sent to the Marshalsea, after having reviled his judges in the most abusive terms. He was again brought before them, and solemnly deprived of the bishopric of London, because he had not declared the king's power in his minority, as he was commanded by the protector and council. The earl of Southampton was so much mortified to find himself disappointed in the conduct of Warwick, that he retired from court without taking leave, and died of chagrin at his house in the country. Though the earl of Warwick was thus delivered from an intriguing rival, he found himself not a little perplexed by the conduct of the French king, who persisted in his resolution to recover Boulogne, which the English were in no condition to relieve. The council sent another embassy to the emperor, desiring him to take that city under his protection; but he treated the proposal with great indifference, alledging, that he was at peace with France; and at last frankly owning, that they had very little reason to expect assistance from him, while religion remained on such a footing in England.

Hist. Reform.
Act. Pub.
Bonner de-
prived of his
bishopric

land. From this answer the council determined to A. C. 1449.
make peace with the French monarch.

The parliament meeting on the fourth day of November, enacted a severe law against unlawful assemblies, in order to prevent future insurrections; but they repealed the last statute against vagabonds, as it appeared too rigorous, and renewed an act upon the same subject, which had passed in the reign of the last Henry. Then a bill of attainder A. C. 1550. was read in the house of lords against the duke of Somerset, founded upon a confession signed with his own hand. A deputation of the members was sent to know from his own mouth, whether or not this confession had been extorted. He thanked them for their candour; owned that he had voluntarily signed the writing; but solemnly protested, that he never harboured a sinister thought against the king or commonwealth. In consequence of this confession, he was deprived of all his offices; and all his moveables, together with great part of his landed estate, were forfeited for the use of his majesty. His total destruction was Act. Pub. The duke of Somerset is fined and released. prevented by his submissive behaviour, which left his enemies no room to prosecute him further: so that he was released from his confinement, after having given security for his future conduct; and in two months after his enlargement, re-admitted to a place in the council. The parliament meanwhile confirmed the new liturgy, decreed, That all the old offices, missals, and breviaries, should be delivered to certain commissioners appointed for that purpose: That all the prayers addressed to saints should be razed out of the books printed in the late reign: and, That all the images taken from churches should, within a fixed time, be committed to the flames. Then they granted a subsidy, which was followed by an act of amnesty, though the prisoners in the Tower were excluded from it, and the

A. C. 1556. meeting was prorogued till the second day of February. During this session, the sons of peers were for the first time permitted to sit in the house of commons.

The earl of Warwick had been appointed lord high admiral, and great master of the household, and now directed the council with the most absolute authority. He wanted to purchase a peace with the French king by the restitution of Boulogne: but, knowing what a load of popular odium the duke of Somerset had incurred by making an overture of that nature, he employed an Italian merchant called Guidatti, who lived at Southampton, to set on foot the negotiation, in such a manner as would acquit him of all suspicion. That foreigner repairing on some pretence to Paris, insinuated himself into the house of the constable, the great favourite of Henry; and in conversation with some of that minister's officers, said he believed the court of England would willingly part with Boulogne for a proper consideration in ready money. The constable being informed of this hint, conferred with Guidatti; and understanding the meaning of what he had dropped, desired he would tell some individual of the English council, that the king of France would rather terminate the affair of Boulogne by accommodation than by war. Thus by the interposition of this foreigner, plenipotentiaries were appointed on both sides, and a congress was opened in the neighbourhood of Boulogne. After some warm debates, the treaty was concluded on the following terms: That Boulogne should be restored to the king of France, who, in consideration of the improvements made in that fortress, and the expence of furnishing it with provisions and munition, should pay four hundred thousand golden crowns to the king of England: That France and England should mutually give hostages for the performance

Peace concluded with France.

stance of these articles : That Edward should restore to the queen of Scotland, the two forts of Lauder and Douglas, which should be demolished, together with those of Aymouth and Roxburgh, that were likewise occupied by the English : That the king of England should desist from all hostilities against Scotland; but, That he should reserve to himself the power of prosecuting all his actions, demands, and pretensions against France and Scotland; while the French king, and the queen of Scotland should enjoy the same privilege with respect to their demands upon England. A. C. 1550.
Hayward.

When this treaty was brought over to London, the earl of Warwick feigned himself sick, that he might not be obliged to sign his name to conditions against which his tongue had formerly exclaimed. He could not, however, elude the reproaches of the public, who plainly perceived, that those who accepted of four hundred thousand crowns, instead of two millions, which Francis I. had engaged to pay, were the very persons who inveighed so bitterly against the protector, for barely proposing the restitution of Boulogne on reasonable terms. This consideration excited such murmurs among the people, that the earl of Warwick thought proper to divert their attention to other objects that would conduce more to their satisfaction. He made an inquiry into the practices of those who had embezzled the king's revenue, or been guilty of oppression in the exercise of their offices. An additional motive to this inquiry was a desire to pay the king's debts. Nor did he spare his own friends whom he had used as instruments to ruin the duke of Somerset. The earl of Arundel was condemned in a heavy fine; Southwell was committed to prison; and others purchased his forbearance with round sums of money. This severity pleased the nation in general,

Arbitrary
proceedings
of the earl of
Warwick.

A. C. 1550. and established Warwick's authority among the great, who perceiving the vigour with which he acted, began to dread the weight of his resentment. In the course of this year, Thirleby resigned the see of Westminster, which was reunited to that of London, and bestowed upon Ridley of Rochester. The bishopric of Norwich was given to Thirleby; that of Rochester to Poinet; and John Hooper was created bishop of Gloucester. Polydore Virgil, who had resided forty years in England, obtained permission to pass the rest of his days in his own country; and the king allowed him to enjoy his benefices, in consideration of his having spent the best part of his life in compiling the English history.

Act, Pub.

Death of
pope Julius.

Pope Paul III. dying in the latter end of the preceding year, the cardinals assembled in the conclave agreed to elect Pole as his successor; and actually repaired to his chamber in the night, to adore him, according to custom; but, he desired they would defer the ceremony till next day, that it might not be a work of darkness. This scruple seemed so extraordinary, that some of them concluded he had lost his senses; others were apprehensive, that should he obtain the papacy, he would exert himself in reforming the court of Rome, and the college of cardinals. They from that moment resolved to elevate some other person to the papal chair; but, being divided into three factions, they could not agree till the month of February, when they elected the cardinal de Monte, who assumed the name of Julius III. The emperor at the diet intended to compel the protestants to submit to all the decisions of the council which had been brought back to Trent: but, he was warmly opposed by Maurice elector of Saxony, tho' that prince used such circumspection in his conduct, that he did not forfeit the favour of Charles, who consented to his being appointed
general

Spondan.

general of the army of the empire, to finish the war by the siege of Magdeburgh, the only protestant city which had not submitted. A. C. 1550.

In England the reformation was so agreeable to the young king, that the ministry, in order to gain his favour, countenanced and encouraged it with all their influence, while Cranmer was indefatigable in the same work. Gardiner was deposed for the same reason on account of which Bonner had been deprived of his bishopric, and sent back to the Tower, where he remained till the reign of queen Mary. A new confession of faith was finished by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, and the new liturgy was in many places corrected. The king, whose understanding far exceeded his years, began to take cognizance of different affairs. He wrote a journal of all the transactions that fell under his observation; and became so zealous for the new religion, that he insisted upon its being embraced by all his subjects without distinction. The princess Mary, however, would never conform to the alterations which had been made; and her opposition subjected her to many mortifications from the council, and the king himself, whose zeal on this occasion rose almost to a spirit of persecution. His sister Elizabeth was educated in the principles of the reformation, which was afterwards brought to perfection under her administration. The princess Mary was so alarmed at the insults she had received, that she resolved to quit the kingdom, and actually concerted a scheme for that purpose, with the governante of the Low Countries; but her design was discovered, and measures were taken to prevent the execution of it. The earl of Warwick, perceiving the king was incensed against his sister Mary, formed a project for excluding her intirely from the succession, to match Elizabeth in a foreign country, and effect a marriage between one of his

The princess
Mary refuses
the liturgy.

Scheme of
the earl of
Warwick.

4. C. 1551. own sons and lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the earl of Dorset, and Frances Brandon, who in the order of succession held the next place to the two daughters of Henry. For this purpose, the earl of Warwick contracted an intimacy of friendship with Dorset; and two successive dukes of Suffolk of the family of Brandon being cut off by the sweating-sickness, which now raged in England, the title was conferred upon the earl of Dorset. Yet it will be found difficult to reconcile this project of Warwick to his negotiation for the marriage of the king with the daughter of Henry II. the French monarch. The marquis of Northampton, the bishop of Ely, and some other persons of distinction, were sent ambassadors to France, with the order of the garter for Henry; and the proposal of a match between his daughter Elizabeth and the king of England. Commissioners were immediately appointed to treat with them on this subject, and the treaty was signed at Angers; but Edward died before the princess was of age. In the mean time, Henry returned the compliment, by sending the marechal de Montmorency at the head of a splendid embassy, with the order of St. Michael, to the king of England.

Rymer.

Immediately after these transactions, the earl of Warwick was created duke of Northumberland; nor were his intimate friends forgot in this promotion. William Pawlet earl of Wiltshire, and lord high treasurer, received the title of marquis of Winchester, and Sir William Herbert was created earl of Pembroke. The new duke did not think his authority was perfectly secured during the life of the duke of Somerset, who made great progress in retrieving the king's favour; and actually began to take measures for re-assuming the office of protector. In order to prevent the elevation of such a powerful rival, Northumberland resolved to
ruin

ruin him effectually. He found means by artful insinuations to alienate the king's affection from that nobleman; and then, by repeated insults, provoked him to take such measures as furnished a handle to work his destruction. Somerset's patience being exhausted, he is said to have contrived a scheme for assassinating this troublesome upstart. One of his confidants, called Sir Thomas Palmer, betrayed his private conversation, and declared, in the king's hearing, that the duke of Somerset had laid a plan for assassinating the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke. The evidence of this person, who was a man of an infamous character, was corroborated by the confession of one Crane; another of the name of Hammond owned that the duke's chamber had been strongly watched by night at Greenwich; and the lord Strange voluntarily declared, that Somerset desired he would persuade the king to marry his third daughter, and act as a spy about his majesty's person. The duke was immediately arrested, and sent to the Tower, together with the lord Grey, and some other adherents; next day the dutcheſs was committed to the same place, as well as Sir Thomas Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Wingfield, Bannister, Vaughan, and many others. The duke of Somerset was soon brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, who sat as high steward upon the occasion, and the rest of the peers, including the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, who were both parties and judges in this court of judicature. He was accused of a design to secure the person of the king, and reassume the administration of affairs, to assassinate the duke of Northumberland, and raise an insurrection in the city of London. He pleaded Not guilty, and desired

A. C. 1551

The duke of
Somerset is
again ar-
rested.

A. C. 1551.

Tried and
condemned
for felony.

fired he might be confronted with his accusers. His request was rejected: he was acquitted of treason, but condemned to death for simple felony, on a statute passed in the reign of Henry VII. declaring it felonious for any person to harbour the thought of killing a privy-counsellor. This scandalous sentence being pronounced, Somerset craved pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, for the enmity he had bore them. The populace seeing him reconveyed to the Tower without the axe, which was no longer carried before him, because he was condemned to be hanged, imagined he had been entirely acquitted; and in repeated shouts and acclamations manifested their joy, which was soon converted into sorrow, when they were better informed of his doom.

The nation in general believed he would obtain his pardon; but the king's heart was hardened against him by the arts of the minister, who prevailed upon one Bartsille to declare to his majesty, that Somerset had employed him to assassinate the duke of Northumberland. He was even told, that the duke had confessed the whole scheme, after his condemnation: he was amused with diversions, that his mind might not have leisure to reflect upon the nature of the trial; he was besieged in such a manner, that no friend of his uncle could approach his person. That unhappy nobleman had indeed interested the lord Riche the chancellor in his favour; but the correspondence between them being accidentally discovered, the lord Riche was deprived of the great seal, which was given in charge to the bishop of Ely. At length, the king signed an order for the execution of his uncle, who, on the twenty-second day of January appeared on the scaffold, without the least emotion, in the midst of

Maynard.

a vast concourse of the populace, by whom he was beloved. He spoke to them with great composure, protesting his innocence of the crimes laid to his charge; and that he had always promoted the service of his king, and the interest of the true religion to the utmost of his power. The people attested the truth of what he said by crying aloud, "It is most true:" and when he prayed, that the king might enjoy health and prosperity, there was a general response of Amen. The spectators seemed to be in great agitation, and on the brink of taking some violent measure. Certain people, who had been ordered to assist in arms at the execution, perceiving, as they approached Tower-hill, that the duke was already on the scaffold, mended their pace, crying aloud to each other, "Come away!" The precipitation with which they advanced, and this exclamation, which was echoed through the whole multitude, produced an universal tumult. After this had subsided, Sir Anthony Brown riding towards the scaffold, the people exclaimed, "A pardon, a pardon." But, the duke with great composure, assured them they were mistaken; and intreated them to be quiet, that he might pass his last moments in peace. Then he continued his speech; and concluding with a desire that they would join with him in prayer, submitted to the stroke of the executioner. Thus fell the duke of Somerset, a sacrifice to the ambition of his rival. He was a nobleman of a middling genius, not without virtues, though warmed by strong passions, among which vanity, pride, and ambition, seemed to predominate. The people were so well convinced of his innocence, that they looked upon him as a martyr; and dipping handkerchiefs in his blood, preserved them as precious relics. Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old foldier, and Sir Miles Partridge were hanged,

A. C. 1552.

He is be-headed.

Fox.

A. C. 1552. hanged, and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, beheaded as the duke's accomplices. Vane encountered death with equal intrepidity and disdain, observing; that the time had been when he was of some estimation, but now the cowardly and courageous were treated alike; and all of them declared, in their last moments, that they had never offended against the king, or any of his council.

Hayward.

While the English ministry was intent upon these transactions, the emperor's affairs in Germany assumed a new aspect. Maurice elector of Saxony entered privately into a league with France, and the protestants of his own country. He sent ambassadors to engage Edward in the same association; and solicit a supply of four hundred thousand crowns to maintain the interest of the reformed religion. The ministry gave him to understand, that the king was not averse to a league calculated intirely for the sake of religion; but that he would not be concerned in any league or alliance which was concerted on political maxims. Nevertheless, if the elector of Saxony would confer more particularly with the protestant princes, and then send ambassadors sufficiently authorised to the king, he would return a more positive answer. The parliament assembling on the twenty-third of January, a statute was enacted against those who should write or speak evil of the king; but in this act was inserted a clause, importing, That no person should be convicted except upon the evidence of two witnesses at least, or be confronted with the criminal. Then they passed an act to authorize the New Common Prayer-book; another for ascertaining the fasts and holidays; a third for the relief of the poor; a fourth allowing the marriage of the clergy; a fifth against usury; and a sixth against simony.

A bill

A bill was brought into the house of peers, for setting aside the entail of Somerset's estate in favour of the children of his first marriage, whom he had excluded from his inheritance; but as a clause of this bill declared, that the late duke and his accomplices had been justly condemned, the house of commons refused to pass the act until the clause was removed. In the same session, the duke of Northumberland attempted to destroy Tonsall bishop of Durham by attainder, on pretence of having concealed a conspiracy against the king; but the commons rejected the bill, because the design was to condemn the bishop without his being confronted by his accusers. The duke's aim was to obtain for himself the dignity of palatine of Durham, which was annexed to the bishopric. But perceiving that this parliament, which had been elected during the protectorship of Somerset, was not disposed to comply with all his wishes, he took care that it should be dissolved, and another convoked for the ensuing year. In the mean time, he continued to indulge his resentment against the memory and adherents of the late duke of Somerset. He commenced a rigorous inquisition about the lands formerly belonging to the charities, which had been given away during the administration of that nobleman; and some of the new proprietors were condemned in heavy fines, while the rest appeased him with large sums of money. He conceived a violent antipathy to the lord Paget, who had been always a staunch adherent of Somerset; and that nobleman was not only subjected to a grievous fine, but even degraded from the order of the garter, on pretence that he was not a gentleman by birth. Thus, the duke at once gratified his resentment, and procured the vacant garter for his own son the lord Warwick. In the course of this year, Heath and Day, the bishops of Worcester

The parliament dissolved, and another convoked.

and

A. C. 1552 and Chester, were deposed on account of their open
 Hift. of the opposition to the reformed religion. The patents
 Reform. by which the king filled the vacant bishoprics,
 were altered in the form, so as that he was left at
 liberty to deprive them of their sees, according to
 his own pleasure, without observing the ordinary
 formalities. The company of German merchants
 known by the appellation of the Steel-yard, was
 suppressed because it monopolized the exportation
 of the woollen manufacture; and a project was
 formed for converting Hull and Southampton into
 free ports; but, the scheme was never carried into
 execution. The king of France having declared
 war against the emperor, and taken Mentz by sur-
 prise, the elector of Saxony assembled his troops,
 and pulling off the mask, marched directly to In-
 spruck, where he had well nigh taken the emperor,
 who now found himself obliged to favour the pro-
 testants, by consenting to the famous edict of
 A. C. 1553. Passau.

The duke of Northumberland found the new
 parliament as obsequious as he could have wished.
 They granted a very considerable subsidy to the
 king, on a supposition that his finances had been
 dissipated during the administration of Somerset.
 They suppressed the bishopric of Durham, in lieu
 of which one was founded in the same place, and
 another at Newcastle; but, the dignity of palatine
 was conferred on the duke of Northumberland.
 Then the parliament was dissolved, after a short
 session of one month; though, during that time,
 the minister accomplished the purposes for which
 it had been convoked. The king, who had been
 for some time indisposed, in consequence of the
 small pox, which left a disorder upon his lungs,
 signed an order for the visitation of the churches,
 that their superfluous plate and ornaments might be
 con-

converted to the use of the poor; but such fraud and extortion were practised in this inquiry, that the poor reaped very little benefit from the king's charitable intention. His distemper now degenerated into a confirmed consumption; and many people did not scruple to insinuate, that the duke of Northumberland had tampered with his constitution. Edward saw his own danger, and bore the prospect of death with uncommon fortitude; all the concern he manifested was for the state of religion, which he foresaw would be altered in the reign of Mary his successor. He was greatly disturbed by this reflection; and the duke of Northumberland did not fail to feed his disquiet, by describing the scenes of persecution that would be acted under a popish sovereign. His design was to pave the way for Edward's setting aside the succession. When the physicians despaired of the king's life, he was committed to the care of an obscure woman, who undertook to cure him by means which she would not discover. No hopes of his recovery now remaining, the duke would no longer delay the marriage of his fourth son lord Guilford Dudley, with the lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the new duke of Suffolk, and Frances Brandon, mentioned in Henry's will, as next in succession to his own daughters. At the same time, Jane's second sister Catherine espoused the lord Herbert eldest son of the earl of Pembroke; and the third was married to Martin Keys the groom porter.

Lord Guilford Dudley
espoused
lady Jane Grey,

These knots of interest being tied, the duke resolved to take the first opportunity of executing the other part of his project. One day, when the king lamented his sister's aversion to the reformed religion, Northumberland told him there was only one way of preventing the misfortunes which threatened his country; and that was by excluding the princess

A. C. 1553.

who is de-
clared next
heir of the
crown.

Hayward.
Burnet.

The king's
death, and
character.

cess Mary from the succession, and transferring the crown to lady Jane Grey. He represented, that the princess Elizabeth could not help sharing her sister's fate, because the only pretence they could use against Mary was illegitimacy; and that equally affected Elizabeth, as the marriages of both their mothers had been declared unlawful by act of parliament. This expedient was well relished by Edward. The interest of religion was his prevailing care, which on this occasion surmounted every other consideration; and he entertained the most tender regard for lady Jane Grey, who possessed all the amiable accomplishments of mind and person. Three of the judges were forthwith ordered to draw up an act of conveyance, transferring the crown to lady Jane Grey upon the death of Edward. They at first refused to comply with this order, alledging, that in framing such an act, they should render themselves liable to the pains and penalties of high-treason, according to act of parliament. The duke of Northumberland was so incensed at their refusal, that he could hardly refrain from personal violence. In a word, partly by threats, and partly by letters of pardon granted in their favour by anticipation, they were prevailed upon to draw up the act of conveyance, which was signed by all the other judges, except Sir James Hales, and all the members of the privy-council, Cranmer himself not excepted.

The king still continued under the regimen prescribed by the woman who had undertaken his cure; but the distemper gaining ground every day, she was dismissed, and the physicians were recalled. Notwithstanding all their endeavours, he died on the sixth day of July, in the seventeenth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign, after having exhibited marks of the most pious resignation. Edward is celebrated by historians for the beauty of his

his person, the sweetness of his disposition, and the extent of his knowledge. By that time he had attained the sixteenth year, he understood the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages; he was versed in the sciences of logic, music, natural philosophy, and master of all the theological disputes; insomuch that the famous Hieronymus Cardanus, in his return from Scotland, visiting the English court, was astonished at the progress he had made in learning; and afterwards extolled him in his works as a prodigy of nature. Notwithstanding these encomiums, he seems to have had an ingredient of bigotry in his disposition that would have rendered him very troublesome to those of tender consciences, who might have happened to differ from him in religious principles; nor can we reconcile either to his boasted humanity or penetration, his consenting to the death of his uncle, who had served him faithfully, unless we suppose he wanted resolution to withstand the importunities of his minister; and was deficient in that vigour of mind, which often exists independent of learning and culture*.

* He died at Greenwich, and was great pomp, near the remains of his buried in Westminster Abbey, with grandfather king Henry VII.

M A R Y.

A. C. 1553. **T**HE duke of Northumberland carefully concealed the death of Edward, in hope of securing the person of the princess Mary, who, by an order of council, had been required to attend her brother in his illness. She had come as far as Hoddesdon, within seventeen miles of London, when she received a message from the earl of Arundel, informing her of Edward's death, and the steps which had been taken to exclude her from the throne. Alarmed at this intelligence, she retired immediately to Kenning-Hall in Norfolk, from whence she sent orders to Sir George Somerset, Sir William Drury, and Sir W. Waldegrave, to attend her immediately with all the forces they could raise. Circular letters were dispatched to all the great towns and nobility of the kingdom, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her without delay. Then she wrote to the council, expressing her surprize, that as they knew her undoubted right of succession, they had not made her acquainted with her brother's decease; and promising to take them into favour, provided they would immediately proclaim her in the city of London, and other places, according to the dictates of their duty. Having taken these steps, she retired to Framlingham-Castle in Suffolk, that she might be near the sea, and escape to Flanders, in case she should find herself hard pressed. Mean while the duke of Northumberland, who governed the kingdom in the name of the council, being apprised of Mary's retreat, went with the duke of Suffolk as deputies from the council, to intimate to Jane Grey her accession to the throne, by virtue of an act of conveyance. They found this young lady at
 Sion-

Sion-house; and when they made her acquainted with the design of their visit, she was overwhelmed with grief and astonishment. She shed a flood of tears, appeared quite inconsolable; and it was not without the utmost reluctance, that she yielded to the intreaties of Northumberland, Northampton, her own father and husband, so far as to accept the crown. At length, however, they extorted her consent; and next day conveyed her to the Tower. On the tenth day of July she was proclaimed in London; and the council sent an answer to Mary's letter, importing, That as she was born of an unlawful marriage, formally dissolved by act of parliament, she ought to drop her pretensions, and acknowledge the sovereignty of queen Jane, who had ascended the throne by virtue of the late king's letters-patent.

Lady Jane Grey proclaimed in London.

The people were so astonished when they heard this lady proclaimed, that they expressed no marks of joy and exultation. They could not conceive for what reason king Henry's two daughters were excluded from the succession; and they hated the duke of Northumberland, as the person who had ruined their darling Somerset. Nor was their hatred alleviated by the conduct of the duke on this occasion. A low plebeian having uttered some sarcastic observation upon this unexpected succession, he ordered him to be apprehended, deprived of his ears, and exposed in the pillory for his insolence; an act of severity, from which the populace drew an ill omen of the new government. The duke knew he had incurred the odium of the people, and even of the great. He suspected some members of the council of aversion to his person and measures; and for that reason continued to keep them in the Tower, on pretence of conforming to the practice of the English sovereigns, who, with their council, used to reside in the Tower, on their first accession

Duke of Northumberland detested by the people.

A.C. 1553. to the throne. His suspicions were not without foundation. The earl of Arundel was attached to the old religion, and hated Northumberland, who had extorted from him a large fine, on pretence that he had dissipated the king's revenues. The other members were disgusted by his insupportable pride and arrogance; and longed for an opportunity to shake off the yoke of his authority. At present they found themselves in effect prisoners; and were fain to temporize, by assenting to every thing he proposed. The death of Edward, and accession of lady Jane Grey, were notified to the English ambassadors at foreign courts; and Richard Shelly was dispatched as envoy, with a letter from Jane to the emperor, offering to renew the treaty of peace between him and England. Shelly, however, did not demand an audience, until he should see what turn affairs might take in his own country.

Northumberland understanding that Mary was joined by John Bourcher earl of Bath, Henry Ratcliffe earl of Sussex, the sons of lord Wharton, and Mordaunt, Sir Henry Bedingfield, Sir W. Drury, Sir Henry Jernegan, and many other persons of distinction; that she had been proclaimed at Norwich; and that the people of Norfolk and Suffolk had risen in arms for the defence of her claim; he, with consent of council, assembled some troops at Newmarket, set on foot new levies in London, and different parts of the kingdom; and appointed the duke of Suffolk general of the army, because he himself was afraid to leave the council, of which he had reason to be jealous. Nevertheless, the earl of Arundel, who wanted nothing but an opportunity to act openly in behalf of Mary, made such remonstrances to Jane Grey, touching the military character of the duke of Northumberland, which would strike terror into the hearts of her enemies, that she insisted upon his taking the command of
the

He assembles troops at Newmarket.

the forces in lieu of her father, from whom she A. C. 1553. could not part without the utmost reluctance. Northumberland could not help complying with her request. He set out for the army at Newmarket, attended by his son the earl of Warwick, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, and the lord Gray of Wilton; and soon found himself at the head of eight thousand men, with whom he advanced to Bury. Mean while, Mary was joined by the lord Thomas Howard, son to the duke of Norfolk, with all the friends of that family. Six ships being ordered by the council to cruise on the coast of Suffolk, in order to prevent her escape by sea, were driven by stress of weather into a port of Essex, where the crews imprisoned their commanders, and revolted to Mary. Four thousand men were raised in her behalf in Bucks, by Sir Edward Hastings, the lord Windsor, and Sir Edward Peckham: another body had assembled in Oxfordshire, under Sir John Williams; and a third in the county of Northampton, commanded by Sir Thomas Tresham. Nevertheless, when her friends were Goodwin. informed that the duke of Northumberland had begun his march, some of them advised her to retire into another country; and perhaps she would have complied with this advice, had he acted with vigour and dispatch. But, in all probability, he perceived marks of dissatisfaction among his troops. Burnet. Instead of marching directly to the enemy, he loitered several days in the neighbourhood of Cambridge; and ordered doctor Edwin Sandys vice-chancellor of the university, to support the succession of Jane in a sermon. The doctor preached accordingly; but spoke with such circumspection, that he offended neither party. Heylin. This was not the case with Ridley at London; who preached with more zeal than discretion; and made so free with the

A. C. 1553. character of Mary, that she never forgave him for the attack.

The duke wrote to the council in the most pressing terms for a reinforcement; and they actually offered eight crowns per month, besides subsistence, to every volunteer who would enlist in the service: but, such was the general odium against Northumberland, that few or none would engage even on these terms; while they crowded to the banners of Mary, and maintained themselves at their own expence. In a little time her army amounted to forty thousand men, and great numbers of people assisted her with money, plate, and jewels. Their regard for the heir of blood concurred with their detestation of Northumberland, to produce a torrent of popularity in her favour. The earls of Arundel and Pembroke, finding themselves still detained in the Tower under the inspection of the duke of Suffolk, who was instructed by Northumberland to watch their conduct, took an opportunity from that duke's pressing letters to propose, that as the French ambassador was averse to enter the Tower, they should meet him at Baynard's Castle, a house belonging to the earl of Pembroke, where they might confer with him, and take measures for bringing over a body of troops which had been raised by the direction of the duke, for the service of queen Jane. Suffolk assenting to the proposal, they invited to the place all the noblemen about London who were thought well affected to Mary; and when they met, the earl of Arundel made a speech in favour of that princess, proposing that she might be proclaimed queen of England. This motion being seconded by the earl of Pembroke, who laid his hand upon his sword, and declared he would defend her against all opponents, the whole assembly assented to the proposal. They forthwith sent for the
lord

lord mayor and aldermen, and informed them of the resolution which they had been taken : then mounting their horses, they rode to the cross in Cheapſide, where Mary was proclaimed queen of England, by Sir Chriſtopher Barker, principal king at arms : Te Deum was ſung in the cathedral at St. Paul's; and the event was celebrated with all manner of rejoicings uſual on ſuch occaſions. The earl of Arundel and lord Paget were diſpatched to Framlingham-Caſtle, to give the queen an account of theſe proceedings. Some companies took poſſeſſion of the Tower without oppoſition. Lady Jane Grey reſigned her royalty with marks of real ſatisfaction; and retired with her mother to their own habitation.

A. C. 1553.
The reſt of the council declare for Mary, who is proclaimed in London.

The duke of Suffolk acquieſced in all theſe tranſactions; and next day that nobleman, with arch-biſhop Cranmer, chancellor Goodricke, the marquis of Wincheſter, and the reſt of the council, ſigned an order to the duke of Northumberland, to diſband his forces, and behave himſelf like a dutiful ſubject to queen Mary. He had already been informed of this ſudden revolution; and diſmiſſed the remainder of his army, which had been greatly reduced by deſertion. His firſt intention was to quit the kingdom immediately; but being prevented by the band of penſioners, who told him, he muſt ſtay to juſtify their conduct, he endeavoured to recommend himſelf to Mary by extravagant demonſtrations of zeal for her ſervice. He repaired to the market-place in Cambridge, and proclaiming her queen of England, threw up his cap in token of joy. But, he reaped no advantage from theſe exterior marks of attachment. Next day, he was arreſted in the queen's name by the earl of Arundel, at whoſe feet he fell down upon his knees, begging his proteſtion in the moſt abject terms of ſupplication. His three ſons, the lord Warwick, Ambroſe,

Duke of Northumberland and his adherents are arreſted.

A. C. 1553. and Henry, his brother, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sandys, shared the same fate; and were committed along with him to the Tower of London. It was on this occasion that a woman, approaching the duke in his way to prison, presented an handkerchief which she had dipped in the blood of the duke of Somerset; and upbraided him with the ruin of that innocent nobleman. About the same time, the earl of Huntingdon, the marquis of Northampton, the lords Hastings, and Robert Dudley, Sir Robert Corbet, and bishop Ridley, were likewise taken into custody: as were the duke of Suffolk, Sir Roger Cholmley, and Sir Edward Montague, the chief justices of England; but these three were afterwards set at liberty.

Ambass. de
Noailles.

Godwin.
Burnet.

Mary
makes her
entrance in-
to London.

On the third day of April the queen made her entry into London, accompanied by her sister Elizabeth, who had joined her on the road with a thousand horse raised for her service. When she arrived at the Tower she released the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, the bishops Gardiner and Bonner, and the lord Edward Courtney, son and heir of the marquis of Exeter, a young nobleman, whom in a few days she created earl of Devonshire. Thus Mary became mistress of the realm without bloodshed; though she owed her success in a great measure, to the popular hatred which the duke of Northumberland had incurred: but she forgot the good offices of the Suffolk people, who had first declared in her favour, on the express promise of being indulged with liberty of conscience. She was indeed a bigot to her religion in the most gloomy sense: and her attention during her whole reign was engrossed by the eager desire of restoring the papal power in England, and of gratifying her revenge against those who were averse to her principles and succession. She proposed in council to re-
establish

establish the catholic religion at once, and send for cardinal Pole, in quality of pope's legate. Gardiner dreaded the effects of such a sudden change, and foresaw that cardinal Pole, who was not his friend, would soon supersede his influence with the queen. He therefore privately sent an express to the emperor, representing that the queen's proposal was dangerous, because the English people could not be brought all at once to recognize the papal authority, and the zeal of the cardinal would produce dangerous convulsions in the kingdom: that, on the contrary, every thing would succeed to the satisfaction of her majesty and the advantage of religion, provided she, the queen, would appoint him chancellor, that he might be vested with authority sufficient to manage such a delicate affair, and execute the scheme which he had projected. Charles was so convinced of the solidity of his remonstrance, that he wrote to Mary, exhorting her to moderate her zeal, and listen to the advice of Gardiner, to whom she at length committed the great seal of England, even before his pardon was expedited: so that he sat as judge in chancery, while he himself was under sentence of death.

On the eighteenth day of August, the duke of Northumberland was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, Thomas duke of Norfolk sitting as high-steward. He desired to know, whether a man, acting by orders under the great seal, could be justly charged with treason for these actions? and whether those, who were at least equally culpable, could sit as his judges? The high steward replied, that the great seal of an usurper could be no warrant; and, that any person, against whom there was nothing upon record, was reputed in law, capable of sitting on any trial. From this last answer, which is so repugnant to common sense, the duke foresaw that any objection he could make would be over-

Duke of Northumberland condemned and beheaded.

A.C. 1553.

Godwin.
Bonnet.

over-ruled; he therefore confessed the indictment, and referred himself to her majesty's mercy. His example, in this particular, was followed by the earl of Warwick and the marquis of Northampton, who were tried at the same tribunal; and all three were condemned to death as traitors. Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer, pleaded guilty, and underwent the same sentence. The duke confessed on the scaffold, that he had been always a Roman catholic in his heart, and expressed great sorrow for having plundered the effects of the church, especially as he could not now make restitution. He is said to have been amused with a promise of pardon, in consequence of which he made this confession: if that was the case he was miserably deceived, and died unregretted by both parties; Gates and the infamous Palmer suffered death, but the other condemned persons were first reprieved, and afterwards pardoned. When the obsequies of Edward were performed in Westminster-abbey, the new ministers proposed to use the old office, which had been abolished; but Cranmer opposed this design with great vehemence, and in person celebrated the service according to the new liturgy.

Though the queen declared in council, that she would not force the consciences of her subjects, she favoured the Roman catholics so openly, that they did not scruple to say in public, their religion would soon be re-established. Bonner's chaplain, Bourn, preaching in St. Paul's church, extolled his master with such extravagant encomiums, and mentioned king Edward in such contemptuous terms, that his audience being incensed at his insolence, began to pelt him with stones, and handled him so roughly that he would have lost his life, had not he been protected by Bradford and Rogers, two protestant ministers. The queen afterwards published
a pro-

a proclamation, professing the faith in which she had been educated; but promised that no person should be punished for religion, until it should be established by act of parliament. In the mean time she forbade all unlawful assemblies, and all persons were prohibited from preaching without licences. She declared that no man should be punished for the last rebellion, without her own express order; but that she would punish severely all those who should promote such pernicious designs for the future. The inhabitants of Suffolk, trusting to the verbal promise of her majesty, did not scrupulously observe the injunctions in this proclamation; and, an order being sent to their magistrates to punish the delinquents with the utmost rigour of the law, they sent deputies to court, to remind the queen of her promise: but their remonstrance was treated with great contempt, and one of their deputies placed in the pillory for the freedom of his expostulation. Bradford and Rogers were confined on account of their popularity. Bonner, Gardiner, Tostal, Heath, and Day, were re-established in the dioceses of which they had been deprived. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Coverdale of Exeter, with several other protestant divines, were imprisoned, because they would not submit to Gardiner, who was empowered by the queen to grant licences for preaching. Divine service was openly celebrated in the old manner, though contrary to the laws still subsisting. Judge Hales was fined in a thousand pounds for having directed the judges of Kent to conform to the laws of Edward, which had not been repealed. Montague was dismissed from his office, which was bestowed on Bromley, a papist. Peter Martyr, professor of theology at Oxford, underwent such insults from the enemies of the reformation, that he was obliged to take shelter in Cranmer's house; though that prelate was in no condition

A. D. 1553.

The protestants are ill treated.

A.C. 1553: tion to protect himself, for the court had already doomed him to destruction.

Bonner not only endeavoured by coarse railery to ridicule the good bishop, whom he called Mr. Canterbury, but, in order to scandalize the archbishop's character, diffused a report that he had submitted to the queen, and promised to make a public recantation of his errors. Cranmer, in order to vindicate himself from this aspersion, drew up a declaration of his faith, which he offered to maintain in public, with the queen's permission. On account of this writing, which was published without his knowledge, he was summoned to the Star-chamber, where he owned himself the author of the paper; and was, for that day, dismissed. Some of the council advised the queen to treat him gently, as he had always been remarkable for the mildness of his disposition. Gardiner spoke in his favour, because he knew that the archbishopric would be given to cardinal Pole, should the see be vacated. The queen herself forgetting that Cranmer had interposed in her behalf, when her father intended to have sacrificed her to his resentment, resolved to ruin him effectually. She remembered nothing of Cranmer, but that he had pronounced her mother's divorce, and promoted the reformation. He was summoned to appear before the council, together with old Latimer, which last was sent directly to the Tower, and next day he was followed by Cranmer, on pretence that he had been guilty of treasonable practices, and published seditious libels. Several other preachers were imprisoned at the same time: Peter Martyr, John Lasco, and all the foreign protestants, who had taken refuge in England, were allowed to quit the kingdom in peace; a good number of the English, who professed the reformed religion, foreseeing a persecution, withdrew into foreign countries on pretence of being natives of France, until orders

Cranmer is committed to the Tower.

Hist. of the Reformation.

orders were sent to all the sea-ports, that no person A. C. 1551. should be allowed to leave the kingdom on that pretence, without producing a passport, signed by the French ambassador.

The queen now resolved to recompence those Promotions at court. noblemen who had exerted themselves vigorously in her favour. The earl of Arundel was appointed lord-steward of the household, Sir Edward Hastings was made master of the horse, and afterwards a peer of the realm. The earl of Suffex was created a knight of the garter, with the particular privilege of appearing covered in the queen's presence. Lord Paget was re-admitted into that order; Francis earl of Shrewsbury was appointed president of the North; Sir John Williams promoted to a peerage, and afterwards to the office of chamberlain to the household; Sir Henry Jernegan was constituted captain of her guard, which was increased with the addition of four hundred men; and Sir Thomas Tresham was created lord prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, which was now revived; consequently he took rank as the first baron of England. Thomas lord Delaware, Sir William Drury, and Sir Richard Southwell, were gratified with pen- Rymes. sions. The queen promoted her chaplain Hopton to the see of Norwich, appointed Englefield master of the wards, Rochester comptroller of the household, and Waldgrave master of the wardrobe. On Mary is crowned, the first day of October Mary was crowned by the hands of Gardiner bishop of Winchester; and she that same day published an amnesty, from the benefit of which, however, all those that had been arrested before the month of September, and many others, were nominally excluded. Then Mary, with a view to ingratiate herself with her subjects, and dispose the people to return members of parliament who should act agreeably to her intention, remitted the subsidies which had been granted for the

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payment

A. C. 1553.
and remits
a subsidy.

Rymer.
Godwin.

payment of Edward's debt: but, immediately after this popular act, the re-established John Wesley in the see of Exeter, which he had resigned in the late reign; and committed Holgate, archbishop of York, to the Tower, on a general accusation of having committed divers capital crimes.

The next care of the ministry was to pack a parliament that should be favourable to their designs; and such scandalous methods were taken for this purpose, that although the protestants were much more numerous than the papists in England, almost all the members of the house of commons were Roman catholics. In the house of lords the queen had a great majority; for even the greatest part of those noblemen, who had professed the reformed religion in the reign of Edward, now infamously conformed to the court doctrines, from motives of interest and ambition. All the protestant bishops were either imprisoned or deposed, except Taylor of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford; and these were expelled from the house of peers on the first day of the session, because they refused to kneel at the mass. The only statutes enacted in this short session, were, an act to limit all treasons to the cases specified in a former statute on the same subject in the reign of Edward the Third; and another, to repeal the act of attainder passed against the marchioness of Exeter, whose son, the earl of Devonshire, was now re-established in all the honours of his family. The two houses, meeting again on the twenty-fourth of October, after a very short prorogation, passed an act for reversing the sentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon, and for repealing all the acts by which that sentence had been confirmed. By this law the princess Elizabeth was again declared illegitimate; and Mary, having no further occasion for her concurrence, treated her with harshness and even cruelty;

Before

The parliament repeals the act for confirming the divorce of the queen's mother,

Before the meeting of the parliament she had, by dint of importunity, prevailed upon Elizabeth to accompany her to mass, that the people might think she did nothing without the concurrence of the presumptive heir; but now that she was rendered incapable of succeeding the queen, she withdrew from her all marks of affection or regard. An act was passed for abolishing all the laws which Edward had made touching religion; and all form of public worship was prohibited, except that which had been used at the end of Henry's reign. Another statute decreed rigorous penalties against those who should maltreat ecclesiastics on the score of the re-established service, or profane the Eucharist, or pull down crosses, crucifixes, and images. Then the parliament renewed an act of the last reign, making it felony for twelve people, or any greater number, to assemble with a view of changing the established religion; and repealed the act of attainder, which had passed against the duke of Norfolk.

and all the
laws touch-
ing religion.

On the third day of November, the lady Jane Grey, her husband lord Guilford Dudley, his two brothers, and archbishop Cranmer, were brought to trial; and, confessing their indictments, were condemned to death for levying war against the queen, and conspiring in favour of an usurper. Yet the see of Canterbury was not declared void, because Mary intended that Cranmer should be deposed in a canonical manner; and to make a merit of pardoning his treason against herself, while she resolved that he should suffer death as an heretic. Mean while the revenues of the archbishopric were sequestered; and the prelate, with the other convicts, sent back to the Tower. Upon the death of Edward, cardinal Brandini, the pope's legate at Brussels, had sent over an agent, whose name was Commendon, to sound the inclinations of Mary; who told him that her intention was to re-establish the
papal

Burnet.

A. C. 1553. papal authority in England, and desired that his holiness would send over cardinal Pole as his legate. At the same time she exhorted Commendoni to continue the disguise in which he had come to England, that her designs might not be too precipitately divulged. The pope being made acquainted with her desire, advised with his consistory, which declared that it would not be for the honour of the holy see to send over a legate until one should be demanded in form; but, the pope giving them to understand that he knew more than he thought proper to disclose on that subject, they assented to the proposal.

Mary solicits the pope to send over cardinal Pole as his legate to England.

That prelate is detained by the intrigues of Gardiner.

The nomination of Pole to this office was equally disagreeable to the emperor and bishop Gardiner. Charles had projected a match between his son Philip and Mary, and was apprehensive of the scheme's miscarrying by the interposition of Pole, whom, it was reported, the queen intended to take for her husband: Gardiner, on the other hand, foresaw that this legate would step between him and the archbishopric of Canterbury; and, in all probability, destroy his influence at court. He therefore represented to the queen, that Pole would ruin her intentions in favour of the Roman catholic religion, by his unseasonable zeal. The emperor wrote to her on the same subject in the most earnest manner, and proposed the marriage between her and his son Philip prince of Spain, of which she perceived all the advantage, and accordingly embraced the proposal. She likewise wrote to Pole, who had been detained in his journey to England by the emperor's order, that the interest of religion would not permit him to come over immediately to England, where the people were not yet properly disposed to recognize the pope's authority: nevertheless she carried on a literary correspondence with the cardinal, who advised her to reconcile her kingdom at once to the holy see, without

without regarding the murmurs of the people. Gardiner strenuously opposed this council, alledging that the marriage ought to be concluded before a total re-union with the holy see, because in that case her measures would be supported by a powerful alliance. Gardiner despised Pole as a shallow politician; and the cardinal looked upon him as a man of intrigue, who made religion subservient to his own interest: in a word, they hated one another. The commons, being informed of the intended match, sent the speaker, with a deputation of twenty members, to supplicate the queen that she would not give her hand to any foreign prince; and she perceiving she had nothing to expect from them, unless she would give them satisfaction in this particular, immediately dissolved the parliament. During the session of parliament, the convocation, sitting as usual, re-established the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was opposed by six deputies only, and three of these maintained a public dispute against the real presence in the Eucharist; but they were reviled, threatened, insulted, and interrupted in their arguments; and the victory was of course adjudged to their adversaries: for, by this time, one hundred and sixty benefices had been bestowed upon the creatures of the court; so that there were very few protestants in the lower house of convocation.

Dispute concerning transubstantiation.

Barnet.

In the beginning of the next year the emperor sent over the count of Egmont, at the head of a magnificent embassy, to regulate the conditions of the marriage; and the queen entrusted Gardiner with the care of this negotiation. This prelate had already received twelve hundred thousand crowns from Charles, to render certain individuals propitious to the match; and now he affected to insist upon conditions that should be very advantageous to England. The treaty was concluded on these

A. C. 1554.

Treaty of marriage between the queen and Philip of Spain.

Nº 54.

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terms :

A. C. 1554. terms : That, by virtue of the marriage, Philip should enjoy the title of king of England conjunctly with Mary, as long as the marriage should subsist ; but that the queen should dispose of the revenues of England, and the nomination of all employments and benefices, which should be conferred upon the natives of England only : That she should enjoy the titles belonging to the king her husband : That her jointure should be sixty thousand livres : That the children of the marriage should succeed to the effects of the mother : That the archduke Charles, the son of Philip, should enjoy the kingdom of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, with the duchy of Milan and all the Italian dominions ; but, in default of prince Charles and his issue, these sovereignties should devolve to the eldest born of Philip and Mary : That this first-born should, at any rate, have Burgundy and the Low Countries : That the younger sons and daughters of the marriage should be provided with appanages and portions in England : That, in case the marriage should produce daughters only, the eldest should succeed to Burgundy and the Low Countries, provided she should, with the consent of her brother Charles, espouse a native of these countries, or one of her mother's dominions ; otherwise prince Charles should keep possession of these countries, and provide her with a portion assigned upon Spain and the Low Countries : That, if prince Charles should die without issue, the eldest son of Philip and Mary, or, in default of sons, the eldest daughter should succeed to all the dominions of her father and mother ; and, that the successor should not intrench upon the laws, customs, and privileges of the countries composing his or her inheritance, nor administer the government by any other than natives of the respective countries. There was a clause annexed, importing, That, before the consummation of the marriage,

Philip

Philip should solemnly swear to the observation of the following articles: That all his domestics should be English, or subjects of the queen: That he should bring no foreigner into England, who might be disagreeable to the natives of this country: That he should make no change in the laws, statutes, and customs of England: That he should not convey the queen from her dominions, without her own express desire; nor any of the children, without the consent of the nobility: That, in case of his surviving the queen without issue by her, he should not arrogate to himself any right upon England or its dependencies; but leave the succession to the lawful heir: That he should not carry jewels or other things of value out of the kingdom; nor alienate any thing belonging to the crown, nor suffer any sort of usurpation: And that, notwithstanding this marriage, the alliance between England and France should remain unfringed. A. G. 1554
Act. Pub.

Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, which brought no advantage to England, though it strengthened the hands of a popish ministry, the queen pardoned the marquis of Northampton, who had been condemned with the duke of Northumberland; and suspended the effect of the acts of parliament which had been made to the disadvantage of the monopolizing company of German merchants. The marriage was universally disliked by the people, who were afraid of Philip's introducing into England the arbitrary maxims of the Spanish government. The whole nation was filled with murmurs and discontent, which at length degenerated into a conspiracy: at least the Spanish match was the pretence for countenancing a rebellion contrived by the duke of Suffolk, Sir Peter Carew of Devonshire, and Sir Thomas Wyatt of Kent, though their intention was certainly to depose Mary, and restore the lady Jane Grey to the throne of England. Ca-

A.C. 1554.

Conspiracy
of Wyatt
and Carew,

rew's design being discovered, and one of his accomplices arrested, he escaped to the continent; while Wyatt, in apprehension of being detected, hastened the execution of his project. He assembled a small number of people, and proclaimed at Maidstone, that his intention was to prevent the kingdom from being enslaved by the Spaniards. Then he repaired to Rochester, and fortified the bridge with some pieces of cannon. The queen, alarmed at this revolt, which she was in no condition to suppress, as she had disbanded her army, sent an herald with offers of pardon to the rebels, if they would lay down their arms and submit. This offer being rejected, she ordered the duke of Norfolk to march against them at the head of her guards, reinforced by five hundred Londoners, commanded by one Bret; and, in the mean time, the sheriff of Kent, raising a posse, encountered one Knevet, in his march to join Wyatt, and routed him at the first onset. Sir George Harper, one of Wyatt's partisans, feigning to desert to the duke of Norfolk, persuaded Bret with his Londoners to join the rebels; and their example was followed by the majority of the guards: so that Norfolk, Arundel, and Jernegan, betook themselves to flight, while their baggage and artillery fell into the hands of the enemy.

Wyat advances to
London.

Wyat, thus reinforced to the number of four thousand men, began his march for London. Being met at Deptford by two deputies whom the queen had sent to know his intention, he demanded for himself the government of the Tower and the guard of the queen's person, and insisted upon the council's being changed at his discretion. These extravagant demands the queen in person reported to the citizens of London assembled in Guildhall, desiring their assistance against the traitor; and declaring she would take up her habitation within the city,

city, to manifest the confidence she reposed in their loyalty and affection. Mean while she armed a body of five hundred men, chiefly foreigners, for the defence of the bridge. Wyat, on the third day of February, arrived in Southwark: but, finding the bridge secured against him, he marched along the river Thames to Kingston; and, though the bridge at that place was cut down, and the opposite bank guarded by a small number of men, he repaired the breach, and passed with his army, by this time increased to six thousand. Then he proceeded directly to London; and, on the fifth day of the month in the morning, reached Hyde-park, where he was deserted by many of his followers, and, among the rest, by Sir George Harper; who, in order to make some amends for his treason, disclosed the whole scheme to her majesty. Wyat, leaving his artillery and the greatest part of his followers in Hyde-park, advanced at the head of the rest into Westminster, repulsed Sir John Gage with the guards at Charing-cross, and continuing his march through the Strand and Fleet-street, found Ludgate strongly barricaded and well guarded against his entrance. Being refused admittance, he wheeled about, in order to retire; but, by this time, the earl of Pembroke had assembled a good number of horse and foot, and, by means of chains and barricadoes, intercepted his retreat. Then his courage began to fail him. Clarencieux the herald coming with a message from the queen, and exhorting him to deserve her clemency by submission, he surrendered himself to Sir Maurice Berkeley; and all his followers laid down their arms.

where he is
obliged to
surrender.

The duke of Suffolk had retired to Warwickshire, where he was discovered to have had a share in this conspiracy, by an intercepted letter from Wyat; and the earl of Huntingdon received an order to arrest him. The duke being informed of

4. C. 1554. this circumstance, dismissed his followers, and concealed himself at the house of one Underwood, his own ranger, who basely betrayed him to the earl, by whom he was conveyed to the Tower of London. This conspiracy proved fatal to lady Jane Grey, to whom Dr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, was sent with a message from the queen, desiring that she and her husband should prepare for immediate death. She received this notice with marks of real joy; and, when Fecknam exhorted her to embrace the catholic religion, she told him she had no time to enter into religious controversies. He, mistaking her meaning, prevailed upon the queen to reprieve her for three days longer; but, when she was informed of this respite, she assured him it was far from being agreeable to her wishes. Then he disputed with her on different points of doctrine, concerning which she argued with uncommon strength of reason, displaying a surprising fund of knowledge. Her husband had obtained leave to take his last farewell of her; but she would not consent to such an interview, lest it should shake their mutual fortitude: she, nevertheless, viewed him through the window as he went to execution, and even saw his headless body brought back in a cart, to be interred in the Tower chapel. She herself, in two hours after his execution, suffered on a scaffold within the fortress, lest her fate should excite dangerous commotions among the populace. The lieutenant of the Tower begging she would favour him with some memorial, she presented him with tablets, in which she had written three short sentences in the Greek and Latin languages, declaring her own innocence. In her way to the scaffold she saluted the spectators with equal affability and composure, holding Fecknam by the hand. When she reached the scene of her suffering, she embraced him affectionately, saying, "God will requite you, good Sir, for your huma-

Lady Jane Grey and her husband are beheaded.

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"nity to me: though it gave me more uneasiness
 "than all the terrors of approaching death." Then
 turning to the spectators, she observed that innocence
 was no excuse for facts that tended to the pre-
 judice of the public. Having spent a little time in
 devotion, her female attendants took off her gown
 and the ornaments of her head and neck, and
 covered her eyes with an handkerchief. Thus
 prepared, she laid her head on the block, and en-
 couraged the executioner, who hesitated to do his
 office; which at length he performed: her fate
 drawing tears from the eyes of all the spectators,
 even those who were zealously attached to queen
 Mary. Her death was followed by the execution
 of Wyat's accomplices. Twenty gibbets were
 erected in different parts of the city, and on these
 fifty rebels were hanged.

Alexander Bret, with several persons of distinc-
 tion, suffered the same fate in Kent; four hundred
 appeared before the queen with halberts about their
 necks, and were pardoned. The duke of Suffolk
 received sentence of death on the seventeenth day of
 February, and was beheaded. Wyat, being tam-
 pered with by some of the court emissaries, accused
 the marquis of Exeter of having a share in the con-
 spiracy. Mary is said to have looked upon this
 nobleman through the medium of jealousy, because
 he seemed to neglect her advances, and preferred
 his addresses to the princess Elizabeth. Being ac-
 cused by Wyat, he was committed to the Tower,
 and Elizabeth sent thither as his accomplice. But
 Wyat, being touched with remorse, in his way to
 execution, begged leave to see the marquis, and on
 his knees implored his forgiveness for having load-
 ed him with so foul a calumny. He likewise, in
 presence of the sheriffs and all the spectators, excu-
 lated Elizabeth, whose life was violently pursued
 by Gardiner bishop of Winchester. On the twenty-

Wyat ac-
 cuses the
 princess
 Elizabeth;

Stowe.

A. C. 1554. seventh day of April lord Thomas Grey was beheaded, as an abettor of his brother the duke of Suffolk. In the following month Elizabeth was removed from the Tower to Wodestoke, where she was detained in custody by Sir Henry Bedingfield, and the marquis of Exeter was sent to the castle of Fotheringay.

who is
harshly
treated.

Godwin.

Protestant
clergy de-
prived of
their livings.

Mass re-
stored.
Burnet.

Proceedings
in parlia-
ment.

This conspiracy being totally quelled, the queen ordered the chancellor to purge the church of married ecclesiastics; and the archbishop of York, with the bishops of St. David's, Chester, and Bristol, were deposed because they had not lived in celibacy: those of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, met with the same fate, on pretence that they had preached erroneous doctrines. Of sixteen thousand inferior ecclesiastics, two-thirds were deprived of their benefices, on account of their being married; and the mass was re-established in all churches, together with the liturgy used in the latter part of Henry's reign. The parliament, which was at this time assembled, was even more complaisant than the last; because Gardiner had distributed among the electors a great part of the money he had received from the emperor. The first act of the session imported, That the prerogative royal was attached to the person who enjoyed the crown, whether male or female; and consequently, that the queen possessed all the rights of her progenitors, according to the constitution of England. The intention of this act, planned by Gardiner, was to hinder Philip from taking possession of the administration, and rendering himself absolute in England. A scheme of government had been projected, for absolving Mary of all restrictions, on the ridiculous pretence, that all the laws enacted for limiting the prerogative had alluded to kings only; and that she, being a queen, was not bound by such restraints. This projector had been encouraged by the emperor's ambassador; and,

at

at the same time, the Spaniards affected to publish a genealogy of Philip, deducing him in a direct line from John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster; as if he had intended to avail himself of that title in his efforts to enslave the English nation. The parliament re-established the bishopric of Durham, which had been suppressed in the late reign; it confirmed the sentence against the duke of Suffolk and those who had been lately executed, and approved the treaty of marriage between the queen and Philip. Towards the end of the session a new conference was appointed at Oxford, on the subject of transubstantiation. As the protestants complained of the manner in which the last dispute on that subject had been carried on, the court ordered it to be recommended at Oxford; and Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were sent thither from the Tower, as the protestant champions. In the course of their argumentation they were insulted, interrupted, and silenced. On the supposition of their being confuted, they were summoned to abjure their errors, and on their refusal excommunicated.

A. C. 1554.

Second dispute at Oxford.

On the twentieth day of July prince Philip arrived at Southampton, with a fleet of sixty ships. When he set foot on English ground he unsheathed his sword; and, being presented with the keys of the town by the magistrates, he restored them without speaking one word. The queen met him at Winchester, where they were married by Gardiner, and their nuptials solemnized with great state and magnificence. Philip was in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and Mary turned of eight and thirty. After the ceremony of the marriage they were proclaimed king and queen of England, France, Naples, and Jerusalem, with the addition of many other high sounding titles. He was a prince of the most profound dissimulation, and maintained a reserve which was extremely disgusting

Philip arrives in England.

His nuptials solemnized.

A. C. 1554. to the English people: nevertheless, he brought over great sums of money, which reconciled many persons to the marriage. From Winchester they removed to Windsor, where Philip was installed a knight of the garter. In order to conciliate the affection of his new subjects, he interceded in behalf of the princess Elizabeth and some others whom Gardiner had devoted to destruction. By his mediation, Elizabeth, the archbishop of York, and ten knights were pardoned. Notwithstanding this generosity, he was very disagreeable to the nation: no person could approach him or the queen without having first demanded and obtained an audience; so that her court was almost wholly deserted. The duke of Norfolk died in September; and the lord Paget, with another nobleman, was sent over to the Low Countries to conduct cardinal Pole into England, as the pope's legate.

Mean while the parliament meeting on the eleventh day of November, repealed the act by which that prelate had been condemned in the reign of the last Henry. He was received in England with extraordinary marks of joy by the king, queen, and nobility. The parliament being summoned to attend their majesties in the house of lords, the cardinal declared the subject of his legation, which was to bring them back, like so many strayed sheep, into the fold of Christ. He spoke so pathetically on this occasion, that the queen was transported with an excess of pleasure, and declared she felt the child leap in her womb. This declaration was immediately published through the whole kingdom; and Te Deum was sung at St. Paul's church with great solemnity. Her female attendants encouraged her in the conceit of her own pregnancy, till the middle of next year, when she was effectually undeceived, to her unspeakable mortification. On the twenty-ninth day of November the two houses presented a petition

petition to their majesties, intreating them to intercede with the legate, that the kingdom might be reunited to the church from which it had been so long separated by a horrible schism; and promising to repeal all the acts which had been made to the prejudice of his holiness. This request being communicated to the legate, he repaired to the house of peers; and, after having expatiated upon the pope's tender affection for the people of England, prescribed, by way of penance, that they should abolish all the laws enacted against the papal authority. Then he indulged both houses with absolution, which they received on their knees, and removed all ecclesiastical censures. They accordingly enacted a statute, re-establishing the pope's authority in England, under certain limitations, however, one of which was an express clause, That alienations of church lands should be authorized; and that the possessors of them should not be subject to any censure or prosecution on that account.

Cardinal Pole gives absolution to both houses of parliament; and the pope's authority is re-established.

This was a very delicate point, and retarded the reunion of the English church with the see of Rome. The pope practised several artifices to procure a restitution, or, at least, to save the pretensions of the church to an indemnification. But, as the nobility of England, among whom they had been distributed, were tenacious of their possessions, and a powerful body not to be disoblighd at this juncture, the legate received powers to compromise the affair, and the parliament passed a law, importing, That whoever should attack any possessor of church-lands, on pretence of ecclesiastical right, should be subject to the penalties specified in the statute of Premunire. The house of commons was so forward in its zeal for the queen's service, that several bills were brought into it, which the lords would not pass, lest the protestants should be driven to despair. They complimented Philip with an act, condemning to perpetual

A. C. 1554. tual prison and confiscation of goods, any person who should aver, that Philip had no right to assume the title of king of England, while his marriage with the queen subsisted. The penalties attached to high treason were decreed against any who should make an attempt upon his life, while he acted as administrator for the heir of the crown, as well as against those, who should, in prayer, petition God to touch the queen's heart, so as she should renounce idolatry, or otherwise abridge the days of her life. The statutes against heretics, enacted in the reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. were now revived; and though cardinal Pole advised in council, that persecution should be avoided, and the morals of the clergy reformed, the queen adhered to the opinion of Gardiner, who declared for the rigorous persecution of nonconformists. Mary left to Pole the care of reforming the morals of the clergy; but, the charge of extirpating heresy was committed to Gardiner. In the mean time, she dispatched the lord viscount Montague, the bishop of Ely, and Sir Edmund Karne, to yield obedience to the pope, in the name of the king, queen, and three estates of the realm.

Godwin.

Burnet.

Sir Edmund
Karne sent
ambassador
to Rome.

A. C. 1555.

Several ec-
clesiastics
burned for
heresy.

Gardiner had now almost attained the accomplishment of his wishes. He sat as judge in the high court of chancery; he acted as prime minister, and chief counsellor to the queen; from thence he thought his glory would be completed by compelling the protestants to recognize the papal authority. He began the persecution with Hooper, who had been bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, one of the most popular protestant preachers. They were condemned for heresy by the chancellor, and other commissioners appointed to judge these matters; and being delivered over to the secular arm, Rogers was burned in Smithfield, where he suffered with great constancy, rather than enjoy an offered pardon

pardon at the expence of changing his religion. A. C. 1555. Hooper was sent to Gloucester; and, after having rejected a pardon on these terms, was brought to the stake. There he suffered inexpressible torment by being burned piecemeal, insomuch that one of his arms dropped off before he expired; yet he bore his fate with surprising patience and resignation. The next victim was a preacher called Sanders, who suffered death at Coventry; and he was soon followed by Dr. Taylor, vicar of Hadley, an old reverend ecclesiastic, who ventured to oppose some Romish priests, who celebrated mass in his church. Gardiner being informed of his behaviour, sent for him to London, where he reviled him with the epithets of traitor, villain, heretic, and knave, committed him to the prison of the King's-bench; from which, in a few days, he was brought to his trial, condemned, and sent down to be burned at Hadley. When he was conducted to the stake, and began to harangue the by-standers, one of the guards struck him on the head. Then he was fixed in a barrel of pitch, and one of the spectators flinging a faggot at the good old man, which wounded him severely, so that his whole visage was covered with blood, he replied, "Oh friend! I have harm enough, what needed that?" When he repeated a psalm in English, one of the guards struck him on the mouth, bidding him speak Latin; and while he was employed in pious ejaculations, another cleft his head with an halbert in such a manner, that his brains came out, and he expired. Perhaps history cannot parallel a more infamous scene of unprovoked cruelty. Bradley was condemned at the same time, but Gardiner thought proper to delay his execution.

Perceiving that the execution of these four ecclesiastics served only to increase the zeal of the protestants, and excite murmurings among the people,

A. C. 1555. ple, he transferred to Bonner a commission, from which he had nothing to expect but the hatred of the public; and in so doing, he let loose the most savage minister of vengeance upon the protestants; for the zeal of Gardiner was cruel, but that of Bonner altogether furious. Every person of humanity, whatever might be his persuasion in points of religion, was shocked at this barbarity; even the bishops were ashamed of it, and on all occasions publicly disclaimed the persecution: so that the odium of course fell upon the king and queen, particularly on the former, who was a foreigner, and had been educated in a country subject to the inquisition. Philip being informed of this calumny, and opinion of the English, justified himself by the mouth of Alphonso his confessor, who, in presence of the whole court, charged the bishops with those cruelties against which the nation exclaimed; and desired them to produce one passage in scripture, authorising them to put people to death merely for matters of faith. It was not without astonishment that the audience heard a Spaniard condemn persecution; and the bishops were so confounded, that for some weeks the effects of their inhuman rage were suspended: but, at the expiration of that term, the barbarous flame broke out with double fury.

Philip dis-
claims the
persecution.

Bonner's
brutality.

Bonner behaved with the utmost brutality of frantic zeal. He tore off the beard of a poor weaver, and tortured him with the flame of a taper, until his veins burst, and his sinews were consumed, because he could not convert him to the Romish faith. Young, raw apprentices, ignorant fishermen, and peasants, persons of family, worth, and character, were sacrificed without distinction; and among these Ferrars formerly bishop of St. David's, tho' he appealed to cardinal Pole, who was averse to this religious butchery. The bishops and civil magi-

strates

strates seemed to vie with each other, the first in condemning, the last in executing the unhappy protestants ; till, at length, the people were provoked almost to rebellion against such monsters ; and then their processes were for some time interrupted. By the intercession of Philip the princess Elizabeth was released from Wodestoke, and allowed to reside in a little country-house, where knowing herself under the observation of spies, she applied to study, and made some progress in learning ; but she was obliged to conform to the established religion, otherwise she must have fallen a victim to the ill offices of Gardiner, who eagerly wished for an opportunity to accomplish her destruction ; because he knew she was a zealous protestant, and foresaw that should she ever ascend the throne, all his labour would be defeated.

The queen was now seized with a scruple of conscience, under which she became very uneasy. She possessed some of the lands which had belonged to monasteries ; and pope Julius III. notwithstanding his compromising that affair by means of cardinal Pole, had published a bull, excommunicating all those who had seized the lands of the church, or of religious communities, as well as all the princes by whom such invaders were favoured and assisted. Mary believing herself far advanced in her pregnancy, would not run the risque of dying in a state of excommunication. She declared to her ministers, that she was resolved to resign all the church-lands that were in her possession ; and ordered them to deliver a list to the cardinal legate. Julius III. dying about this period, was succeeded in the papacy by cardinal Marcellus Cervinus, who did not many days survive his exaltation. When the tidings of his death arrived in England, the queen took some measures for elevating Pole to the pontificate ; but the conclave elected cardinal Caraffa, who assumed the

A. C. 1555.
Hist. of the
Reform.

Paul. IV.
succeeds to
the papacy.

A. C. 1555. the name of Paul IV. one of the most proud, arrogant, and ambitious pontiffs who had ever possessed the see of Rome. He refused to give audience to the English ambassadors, because Mary assumed the title of queen of Ireland; but, as the English envoys would not give up that addition, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom by virtue of his pontifical power. Then he demanded full restitution of all the church-lands, and a continuation of St. Peter's pence, which he said he would send over a collector to receive.

Burnet.

The persecution rages.

During these revolutions at Rome, the English council being informed that the justices of the peace, and particularly those of Norfolk, favoured the protestants, sent them instructions to conduct themselves in another manner, and maintain spies upon those of the reformed religion. This order favoured so much of an inquisition, that the nation in general believed, it was suggested by the Spaniards, against whom the people conceived an implacable hatred. The severities already practised had excited such murmurs, that even Bonner restrained his furious zeal, and dismissed several persons who were sent to him, accused of heresy; till, at length, the queen and her consort, scandalized at his moderation, wrote a letter, exhorting him to obey as usual the dictates of his duty. Thus animated, he renewed the persecution with redoubled violence. John Cardmaker a prebendary at Bath, John Warne an upholsterer in London, Thomas Hawkes a gentleman of Essex, John Sampson, and John Audley husbandmen, Thomas Watts a linen-draper, Nicholas Chamberlain a weaver, Thomas Osmund a fuller, and William Baniford another weaver, were committed to the flames for having denied the real presence in the Eucharist. Even one Tool, who was hanged for robbery, having expressed some doubts about transubstantiation at the gallows, under-

derwent a trial after his death; and his body was A. C. 1555. burned for heresy. These victims were followed by Bradford the protestant preacher, who had, with the assistance of Rogers already executed, saved the life of Bourn now promoted to the see of Bath and Wells. He was burned at Smithfield, together with John Lease, an apprentice nineteen years of age. Several persons suffered at Canterbury, and other places; and among them Margaret Polly, the first woman who died for heresy in Mary's reign.

In the month of October, the bishops of London, Gloucester, and Bristol, were sent to Oxford with a commission from the cardinal, to try old Latimer and Ridley, who were convicted and condemned, though pardons were offered to them, if they would recant. When they were brought to the stake before Baliol college, Ridley said to his fellow-sufferer, "Be of good heart, brother; for God will either assuage the flame, or enable us to abide it." And Latimer consoled him in his turn, saying, "We shall this day light such a candle in England, as I trust by God's grace, shall never be put out." They bore their fate with admirable courage and constancy; and were two of the best men who had hitherto suffered in England for religion. Gardiner was so eager after the blood of those prelates, that he would not dine on the day of their suffering, until he received the news of their death, which did not arrive till four o'clock in the afternoon. Then he ate his meal with marks of uncommon satisfaction; but was that same evening seized with a suppression of urine, which in less than a week brought him to his grave. He is said to have felt some remorse in his last moments, and to have exclaimed, "I have sinned with Peter; but I have not wept with Peter." He was certainly a priest of a selfish character, a profound dissembler, and of a Latimer and Ridley burned at Oxford. Death of Gardiner.

A.C. 1555.
Godwin.

proud, vindictive, cruel disposition*. It was by his ambition that Cranmer's fate was so long delayed; for he knew that should the archbishopric be vacated, the queen would confer it immediately on his rival Pole, whom he had slandered in such a manner to the reigning pope, that his holiness hated the cardinal as a favourer of the reformation. Pole was undoubtedly a man of moderation and humanity, and of course disapproved of the persecution.

Mary brings
forth a
mole.

In summer the queen had supposed herself seized with the pains of child-bed, and couriers were prepared, to carry the news of her delivery into different countries. The report of her having brought forth a son, was diffused into different counties of England. The bishop of Norwich caused Te Deum to be sung in his cathedral for the birth of a prince, and a certain priest ventured to describe the lineaments of the child from the pulpit. But, all the queen's hopes vanished at her bringing forth a substance known by the name of mole, to her own unspeakable grief, as well as to the astonishment of the whole court, and the confusion of Philip, who had flattered himself with the prospect of uniting England and Spain by the issue of this marriage. This disappointment did not help to soften Mary's disposition. Informations were given of some pretended conspiracies in Dorsetshire and Essex, and several persons were imprisoned, and put to the torture: but, nothing was discovered, and the whole was supposed to be a calumny invented by the priests against the favourers of the reformation. Mary set on foot a rigorous inquisition against those who had pillaged churches and monasteries in the time of the visita-

* Though he assumed the name of Gardiner, he was a natural son of Henry VIII. promoted him to the bishopric of Winchester. Richard Wideville, brother to Elizabeth consort of Edward IV, and it was

tion; and they were now obliged to compound for A.C. 1553,
 their rapine, by disgorging best part of the booty.
 Philip losing all hope of having children by the Philip quits
the king-
dom.
 queen, and conceiving a disgust to her person,
 which was by no means agreeable; being moreover,
 informed of his father's intention to resign his do-
 minions; he quitted the kingdom, and retired to
 Flanders, leaving his consort extremely chagrined Burnet,
 at his distaste and indifference.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-first day
 of October, confirmed the queen's cession of the first-
 fruits and tithes, but the commons abated consi-
 derably of their former complaisance in other par-
 ticulars. The ministry having gained their ends in
 the last session, neglected the payment of pensions;
 the people were generally shocked at the cruelties
 which had been perpetrated, and the lower house
 could not without regret behold the lands of the
 church wrested from the possessors. When the Godwin,
 queen demanded a subsidy, some of the members
 openly observed, that she could not expect the peo-
 ple should be burdened with those expences which
 might have been defrayed by the church lands; and
 it was with great reluctance that they indulged her
 with an inconsiderable supply. Gardiner, who had
 used to manage the parliament, was now no more;
 and Mary had put his office of chancellor in com-
 mission, till the first day of January, when it was
 bestowed upon Heath archbishop of York. After
 the dissolution of this parliament, the queen receiv-
 ed a bull from the pope, erecting Ireland into a
 kingdom; and, towards the end of the year, the
 emperor Charles V. resigned his dominions to his
 son Philip. He afterwards ceded the imperial dig- The empe-
ror abdicates
his throne.
 nity to his brother Ferdinand; though the pope re-
 fused, at first, to recognize the new emperor, on
 pretence that the resignation ought to have been
 made to him only.

A. C. 1555. Although, in the course of this year, sixty-seven persons were burned for religion, including four bishops, and thirteen priests, &c. the zeal of the papists was not yet moderated. On the twelfth day of September, Brooks bishop of Gloucester, as the pope's sub-delegate, together with two commissioners from the king and queen, had condemned Cranmer at Oxford, for heresy; and, on the fourteenth day of February, Bonner and Thirleby were sent thither to degrade that prelate. He was cloathed in derision with pontifical robes of coarse canvas; and Bonner having insulted him with the most indecent railery, ordered him to be stripped of his ludicrous attire, according to the ceremony of degradation used in the church of Rome. Thirleby wept bitterly during this whole scene, protesting to Cranmer, that this was the most sorrowful action of his whole life; and that nothing but the queen's peremptory command could induce him to be present at the affliction and distress of a person with whom he had lived in the most perfect friendship. After the archbishop's condemnation, a great number of divines both English and Spaniards, assailed him in different shapes, with a view to make him a proselyte to their opinions. They threatened and soothed him by turns; they flattered him with a promise of a pardon; and in a word, tampered with the infirmities of his nature so effectually, that he subscribed an abjuration, renouncing all the errors of Luther and Zwinglius, acknowledging the pope's supremacy, the seven sacraments, the corporal presence in the Eucharist, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints. His recantation was immediately printed, and furnished the popish party with infinite matter of triumph and exultation, while the protestants were overwhelmed with dejection and disgrace. The queen now exhibited a signal proof of her own revengeful disposition. She had

had affected to forgive the archbishop for the crimes committed against her as his sovereign, in full expectation of his being burned as an heretic; but, being disappointed in this hope, by his recantation, she pulled off the masque, and signed a warrant for his execution. He was conducted to St. Mary's, where being placed in a conspicuous part of the church, Cole provost of Eaton preached a sermon, in which he magnified Cranmer's conversion, as the immediate work of God's inspiration. He then flattered the archbishop with the hope of heaven; and assured him, that dirges and masses should be said for his soul in all the churches of Oxford. During the whole sermon, Cranmer expressed the utmost anxiety and internal agitation, lifting up his eyes to heaven, shedding a torrent of tears, and groaning with unutterable anguish. When he was desired to declare his faith, he prayed with the most pathetic expressions of horror and remorse. He then made a short but moving exhortation to the people; repeated the creed of the apostles, declared his belief of the Scriptures, confessed that he had signed a paper contrary to his conscience, from the apprehension of death; for which reason, the hand that subscribed the recantation should first feel the torture of the fire. He renounced the pope as the enemy of Christ, and professed the same opinion of the Sacrament which he had published in a book written on that subject. The assembly consisting chiefly of papists, who hoped to triumph still further in the last words of such a convert, were equally confounded and incensed at this declaration. They called aloud to him to leave off dissembling, and pulling him down, led him to the stake at which Latimer and Ridley had suffered, upbraiding him by the way with this second apostasy. When the fire was kindled, he stretched forth his right hand to the flame, in which he held

A. C. 1556. it until it was intirely consumed, exclaiming from time to time, "That unworthy hand!" but exhibiting no other signs of pain or disorder. He continued to pour forth pious ejaculations until he expired; and after his body was destroyed, his heart was found intire among the ashes. Such was the unworthy fate of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, who with a very small alloy of human weakness and irresolution, possessed all the candour, simplicity, meekness, and benevolence of a primitive christian.

Burnet.

Rymer.

Barbarities
exercised
upon the
protestants.

On the very day of his death cardinal Pole was put in possession of his archbishopric, in consequence of bulls which he had already received from the pope, at the queen's desire. The persecution still raged with unceasing fury, under the conduct of Bonner, who sent the poor wretches in troops to the stake, without distinction of age, sex, or circumstance. Thirteen were sacrificed together in one fire at Stratford le Bow; and in the island of Guernsey, a scene of almost incredible barbarity was acted. A mother and her two daughters, being committed to the flames, one of them being married, and in the last month of her pregnancy, was, by the violence of the pain, taken in labour, and produced an infant, which a humane by-stander rescued from the fire. But, after some consultation, the magistrate who superintended the execution, ordered the innocent to be thrown back into the flames, where it perished with the mother. When we consider the barbarity of these proceedings against poor, harmless people, who had committed no outrage against the established government, or religion, but been condemned for simple answers touching their belief, extorted from them by violence, we can hardly believe the perpetrators were the children of human nature, far less the servants of Christ, whose doctrine was mercy and bene-

benevolence; They looked rather like the ministers of infernal malice; let loose upon a wretched world. Within the compass of this year, fourscore and five persons, men, women, and children, the lame, the blind, and the ignorant, suffered death, because they would not believe in purgatory, transubstantiation, and other popish tracts, which are now justly exploded by the church of England. Nothing could be more impolitic than this inhuman persecution; for opinions are rivetted by opposition. The indignation of all moderate people was aroused by such barbarity; the surprising resolution with which the martyrs suffered the most painful death, diffused a general notion of their sanctity, and enhanced the merit of the religion which they professed: so that this frantic zeal of the papists, in a great measure contributed to the subsequent establishment of the reformation.

While the ministry thus endeavoured to extirpate the protestant religion, the queen resolved to strengthen the interest of the Roman catholics, by restoring some old, and founding some new monasteries. She certainly would have re-established all the religious houses which had been suppressed, if the fear of disobliging the nobility had not deterred her from the execution of her design. Several members of the lower house in the last session, bearing such a proposal mentioned, layed their hands upon their swords, saying, They knew how to defend their property. Mary being informed of this opposition, postponed her scheme to a more favourable opportunity. In the mean time, she commissioned Bonner and others, to erase from the public registers, all her father's transactions against the monks and the pope, particularly, on account of the visitations, and the renunciation of the papal authority, made by the monks and abbots. Nor was the

A. C. 1556. the queen's attention so much engrossed by the affairs of religion, but that she intermeddled in the interests of the continent. She had offered her mediation between France and Spain, and the ambassadors of both nations had assembled between Calais and Ardres; but the peace was retarded by the elevation of Paul IV. to the papacy. This pontiff was outrageously proud, insolent, and ambitious, though already fourscore years of age. He was an inveterate enemy to the Colonesi; and his two nephews persuaded him, that the king of Spain, who supported that family, had formed a conspiracy against his life. They pretended to have discovered the particulars of this plot, in letters to the duke of Alva governor of Naples, which letters they had intercepted. Cardinal Colonna was imprisoned, the envoys of Philip and Mary were put under an arrest, and the pope seized Palliano and Nettuno, two places belonging to the Colonesi. Then he declared war against the king of Spain, and solicited the assistance of the French monarch; promising to aid him in his turn with all his forces for the conquest of Naples. The proposal being supported by the cardinal of Lorrain, a league offensive and defensive was signed at Rome; but this was almost rendered ineffectual by the mediation of Mary, in consequence of which, a truce for five years was concluded between France and Spain. The pope being thus abandoned by his ally, the duke of Alva began to approach the city of Rome, after having taken Ostia, and some other places; but, the cardinal Caraffa being sent as legate a latere to Paris, managed his intrigues with such art and success, that the king of France broke the truce, without alledging any other cause than that of the pope's being oppressed by the Spaniards.

Mezerai.
The pope
declares war
against the
king of
Spain.

At the commencement of the succeeding year, cardinal Pole visited the two universities; and while he resided at Cambridge, Bucerus and Fagius, two German theologians, who had been dead several years, were summoned to give an account of their faith. As they did not appear, they were condemned to be burned for heresy; and their remains being dug up, were consumed to ashes at Oxford. The wife of Peter Martyr was likewise taken out of her grave, and buried in a dunghill, because she had been a nun, and broken her vow of celibacy. The magistrates began to be ashamed of acting as instruments of such unheard-of barbarity, and relaxed so much in their diligence, that the council sent circular letters, exhorting them to redouble their zeal in the prosecution of heretics. The queen, being incensed at hearing from all quarters that the number of protestants daily increased, notwithstanding the executions, began to entertain thoughts of establishing an inquisition in England. As a previous step to this measure, she renewed the commission of the preceding year, empowering one and twenty commissioners to judge heretics of all ranks with unlimited authority. The persecution revived, and seventy nine persons were committed to the flames. During these transactions, the duke of Guise marched with an army into the kingdom of Naples, from whence he was soon recalled by the pope to the relief of Rome, which was hard pressed by the duke of Alva.

Philip, exasperated at Henry of France, for having broken the truce, levied an army of fifty thousand men to act in Picardy; and, by divers artifices and insinuations, prevailed upon his consort Mary to espouse his quarrel. She granted commissions to the sheriffs and justices of the peace to enlist soldiers, that they might be ready to march at the first notice. In the interim one Stafford having received some

The queen
becomes
more and
more cruel.

A. C. 1557. some assistance from the court of France, assembled some English refugees; and embarking in a vessel, landed in Scotland. From thence marching to Scarborough, he surprised the castle, and published a manifesto, in which he affirmed that Mary had forfeited all right to the crown, by introducing Spaniards into the kingdom, of which he declared himself the protector. But his success was of very short duration; the earl of Westmoreland having raised some troops, retook Scarborough, in which he found Stafford and three of his accomplices, who were executed at London.

Godwin.

The French
defeated at
St. Quentin.

On the twentieth day of May king Philip arrived in England, where by this time eight thousand men were ready to embark for the Low Countries; and the queen having sent a herald to declare war against France, these troops were transported, on the seventeenth day of June, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, who joined the Spanish army commanded by the duke of Savoy: then Philip returned to Brussels. The Spanish general having invested St. Quentin, the constable of France detached the admiral de Chatillon with three thousand men, to throw himself into the place. He found means to enter with seven hundred; but the rest were bewildered in the night. With this reinforcement he defended the place vigorously, in expectation of being relieved by his uncle the constable, who being greatly inferior in number to the allies, contented himself with introducing the admiral's brother d'Andelot, with a supply of five hundred men; but, in return from this expedition, he was attacked, routed, and taken prisoner by the duke of Savoy, after two thousand five hundred men had been killed upon the spot. In this action, which was fought on the tenth day of August, and thence called the battle of St. Laurence, besides the constable Montmorency, and

and his son, the dukes of Montpensier and Longueville, Ludovico Gonzaga, brother to the duke of Mantua, the marechal St. Andre, the Rhingrave Roche-dumain, the count de Rochefoucault, the baron of Curton, and many other persons of distinction, fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Among the slain were John duke of Enghien, the viscount of Turenne, the lords of Chandinier and Pontdormy, and a great number of officers. France was overwhelmed with such consternation at the news of this disaster, that if the duke of Savoy had marched directly to Paris, he might have entered that city, without opposition: but he proceeded to the siege of St. Quentin, which in a few days he took by assault; when the admiral, with his brother, and all that survived of the garrison were made prisoners. The whole French nation exclaimed against the pope, who had occasioned the rupture of the truce, and Henry recalled his forces from Italy.

When his holiness first understood that the queen of England, had declared war against France, he was violently exasperated against cardinal Pole, as if he had advised that measure, and would have recalled him immediately, had not Carne, the English ambassador, represented the injury that he would do to religion by such a procedure; but, when the news of the battle arrived, he was seized with a transport of rage, and resolved to sacrifice Pole to his revenge. He sent for Payton, the queen's confessor, to Rome, where he bestowed upon him a cardinal's hat, appointed him legate in England, and dismissed him with a decree, by which Pole was recalled. But the queen, being informed of this mandate, gave notice to Payton, that should he attempt to set foot in England, she would cause him to be punished with all the rigour of the Premunire. This letter stopped the new cardinal in his journey; and Pole, though he had not received the pope's decretal, abstained from

A. C. 1557.

Godwin.

The pope's
hatred to
cardinal
Pole.

A.C. 1557. from all the functions of a legate, that he might not furnish the pontiff with a pretence to take any step to his prejudice. Nevertheless, the pope, finding himself unable to cope with the duke of Alva, concluded a peace with Spain; and, by the article of the treaty, Pole was re-established in his legation.

The French king created the duke of Guise his lieutenant-general for the whole kingdom of France, and excited the queen-regent of Scotland to infringe the peace with Mary. As she could not prevail upon the states of the kingdom to comply with her wishes, she ordered Aymouth to be fortified, contrary to an article of the last treaty; and the English opposing this measure by force of arms, a rupture ensued. D'Oysel, at the head of the Scottish army, entered the frontiers of England, but he was immediately recalled by an express order of the parliament; and the queen regent advised Henry of France to hasten the marriage between the dauphin and her daughter Mary; that he, being master of Scotland, might exert his authority with the natives. Henry relished this advice, in consequence of which, he sent ambassadors, to regulate the articles of the marriage with the parliament of Scotland. In the latter end of the year, Philip sent intimation to Mary, that the court of France had projected some scheme against Calais, and offered to supply her with troops for the guard of that fortress, which was in a defenceless condition. The council looked upon this intimation as a stratagem of Philip to gain possession of Calais; and the queen not only declined accepting his offer, but also neglected to put the place in a posture of defence, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of lord Wentworth the governor. The ministry was too much engrossed by religious affairs to bestow proper attention upon this object of importance. In the beginning of the year Calais was invested by the duke of Guise, who, having taken

taken by assault the two forts of Newnambridge and Risband, battered the town, and obliged the governor to surrender on the seventh day of the siege. He was no sooner master of the place, than he expelled all the English inhabitants: then he sat down before Guisnes, in which the lord Grey commanded; but the garrison, consisting of eleven hundred men, were so discouraged by the loss of Calais, that at the first attack they retired to the citadel, where they sustained another assault; and then surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The castle of Hames, being situated in a morass which was almost inaccessible, might have made a vigorous resistance; but the garrison abandoned it, and fled at the approach of the enemy. Thus, within the space of fifteen days, in the middle of winter, all that remained of the English conquests in France, was lost by the ignorance and neglect of the queen and council; and this was the fruit of the alliance between England and Spain.

A. C. 1557.
The French
besiege and
take Calais,
Guisnes and
Hames.

Godwin.

The loss of Calais filled the whole kingdom of England with murmurs and complaints: the ministry were so confounded, that they could not open their mouths in their own justification, and the queen felt all the pangs of the most mortifying disappointment. Philip pressed her to make a powerful effort for the recovery of the place, before the French should have time to repair the fortifications; but the ministers could not find means to execute such an enterprize; and they were afraid that the undertaking would detach their attention too much from the concerns of religion. The parliament meeting on the twentieth day of January, granted a subsidy to the queen, and she received another from the clergy. Some of the partisans of the court, proposing an act for giving the force of a law to all the queen's proclamations, one of the members opposed the

A. C. 1557. the proposition, alledging that the queen, by virtue of such an unlimited power, might, by a simple proclamation, alter the succession. The house, offended at this member's suspicion, committed him to the Tower; but no further mention was made of the act, because, in all probability, Mary perceived the nation was attached to the right of the princess Elizabeth, who after the prorogation of the parliament, was demanded in marriage by the king of Sweden; but she rejected his proposal. In the month of April the dauphin espoused Mary queen of Scotland; and, in June, Philip king of Spain, by his general the count d'Egmont, obtained a complete victory over the French at Gravelines, where the French general de Termes and his principal officers were taken. This victory was in a great measure owing to ten English men of war, which chancing to sail along shore, while the battle was maintained with equal fury on both sides, made a terrible slaughter among the French with their cannon, insomuch that the rout began from this quarter. About the same time, lord Clinton, high admiral of England, with a fleet of one hundred and forty ships, made a descent upon Conquest in Normandy, which he took and plundered; but some of the Flemings, that were on board the navy, making an excursion farther into the country, were attacked and routed by the militia; and the admiral retired to his ships with precipitation.

Philip obtains another victory at Gravelines.

Hayward.

The persecution continues to rage.

Mean while the persecution was renewed in England with fresh fury. The queen ordered, by proclamation, that those who should receive heretical books, without delivering them immediately to the magistrate, should be forthwith executed by martial law; and all persons were forbidden to pray for such as suffered on account of heresy. A man, of the name of Bambridge, being condemned to the flames

flames in Hampshire, and unable to bear the torture, cried aloud, "I recant, I recant." The Sheriff immediately ordered the fire to be extinguished, and the man signed an abjuration. But the court sent down an order to burn this unhappy wretch even after his recantation; and the sheriff was committed prisoner to the Fleet, for having presumed to suspend the execution. In this last year, nine and thirty protestants suffered martyrdom in different parts of England; so that the number of those who died for their faith in the reign of Mary amounted to two hundred and eighty-four, besides many who suffered long confinement and incredible misery, though their lives were not taken away.

Burnet,

Fox,

Mary having obtained nothing but damage and disgrace from the war, the more willingly listened to a negotiation for a peace between France, Spain, and England; and the conferences were begun at Cambray in the month of October. In November the queen demanded a supply from parliament, in case the treaty should not be concluded: but the commons were very backward in complying with her request; and, before the bill passed, the queen expired. Her health had been infirm since the issue of her supposed pregnancy; and the different mortifications to which she was afterwards exposed, had such an effect upon her constitution, that she was seized with a dropsy, which put a period to her life on the seventeenth day of November, in the forty-third year of her age, after she had reigned five years, four months, and eleven days. We have already observed that the characteristics of Mary were bigotry and revenge; we shall only add, that she was proud, imperious, froward, avaritious, and wholly

A. C. 1557. wholly destitute of every agreeable qualification †. She was survived but sixteen hours by cardinal Pole, a prelate of a soft and moderate disposition, who disapproved of persecution, and wished to bring back the English to their antient faith by mild and gentle exhortations, recommended in the example of a reformed clergy.

† Mary was buried at Westminster, with a mass of Requiesce, according to the form of the Roman church, in the chapel of her grandfather Henry VII. and her funeral celebrated

ELIZABETH

E L I Z A B E T H.

THE members of the privy council concealed the death of Mary for some hours, during which they deliberated upon the measures they should pursue. At length they imparted this event to the house of lords. They made no scruple of declaring for the princess Elizabeth, who succeeded according to the will of her father Henry, and was agreeable to the nation in general. The majority of the peers were either altogether indifferent with regard to religion, or secretly favoured the reformation; and the rest believed that popery was too firmly established, to be overthrown by a female sovereign, who was so far from being a bigot, that she conformed to the religion of her sister, and even declared herself a Roman catholic. The lords having deputed Heath archbishop of York, to signify their resolution to the lower house, it was unanimously approved by the commons; and Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed, amidst the acclamations of the people, in the five and twentieth year of her age. She forthwith repaired from Hatfield to London; and, after having received the compliments of the nobility, she sent ambassadors to the different powers of Europe to notify her accession to the throne of England. Lord Cobham was dispatched to Philip, whom she considered as her friend and ally; Sir Thomas Chalons set out for the Imperial court; and she joined Howard lord Effingham to Thirleby bishop of Ely, and doctor Wotton, who were the plenipotentiaries at the congress of Cambray. Killebrew was sent to sound the protestant princes of Germany; and Karne had orders to make the pope acquainted with the death of Mary,

A. C. 1558.

Elizabeth
ascends the
throne.

Camden.

A. C. 1558. and succession of Elizabeth. Then she formed her council, in which she retained thirteen of her sister's counsellors, to whom she joined eight persons who were attached to the protestant religion†. Philip of Spain was not a little alarmed at the death of his consort. He dreaded Elizabeth's marrying a protestant prince, in which case all his influence in England would vanish: he was not without fear that the French king would support the claim of Mary queen of Scots, and unite England, Scotland, and Ireland, to his own dominions. In order to prevent such an accession of power to his enemies, he sent the count de Feria to propose a match between him and Elizabeth, who, notwithstanding his promise to procure a dispensation from the pope, declined the proposal; though in such obliging terms, that the king of Spain could not justly take offence at her refusal. Indeed she had great reason to avoid a rupture with that monarch; for she was involved in a war with France and Scotland; the crown was overwhelmed with debts contracted in the two preceding reigns, and the finances of the kingdom were quite exhausted: besides, she was not a little embarrassed on the score of religion.

Philip of Spain demands her in marriage.

Her council being consulted on the situation of affairs, advised her to forward the negotiation for a peace with France and Scotland; in the mean time to fortify the frontiers, equip a strong fleet for the defence of the coast, and change the sheriffs and magistrates, in such a manner, that a majority of protestant members should be returned to the next parliament, which was accordingly convoked for the twenty-fifth day of January. In the interim, she em-

† The old members were Heath the lord Clinton, high admiral; lord archbishop of York; Pawlet marquis Howard of Effingham, chamberlain; of Winchester, lord high treasurer; Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir William Fitz-Allen earl of Arundel; Talbot tre, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard earl of Shrewsbury, Stanley earl of Sackville, and Nicholas Wotton, Derby; Herbert earl of Pembroke;

played doctor Parker to reform in private the liturgy A. C. 1559. of Edward VI. then published a proclamation, allowing divine service to be performed in the vulgar tongue, and her subjects to read the scriptures. In the beginning of the year, the marquis of Northampton, condemned in the late reign, was restored to his honours; Edward Seymour, son of the duke of Somerset, was created baron Beauchamp and earl of Hertford; Thomas Howard, second son of the duke of Norfolk, was promoted to the honour of viscount Howard of Bindon; her kinsman Henry Cary of Hunsdon, and Oliver St. John of Bletmisto, were elevated to the rank of barons. The queen's coronation. These promotions were succeeded by the queen's coronation, which was performed in the church of Westminster. The archbishop of York, and some other prelates, refusing to assist at the solemnity, and the see of Canterbury being vacant, the crown was placed upon her head by Oglethorpe bishop of Carlisle.

The session of parliament was opened with a speech by Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, who, after having sounded forth the praises of the new queen, and the misconduct of the last ministry, gave the members to understand, that it was the queen's pleasure they should regulate the affairs of religion; and, in so doing, choose a middle course between the extremes of superstition and irreligion, that the nation might be re-united in one kind of worship: he concluded his harangue by representing the necessities of the government, and recommending a supply to her majesty. The commons, though they had been harassed by impositions in the late reign, cheerfully granted the tonnage and poundage, together with a large subsidy on funds and moveables. And for the support of the queen's royal estate, they passed a bill for restoring the first fruits and tythes to the crown; the revenue of

A. C. 1559. which was likewise improved by the dissolution of all the abbeys, nunneries, hospitals, and chantries, founded since the reign of Edward. On the fourth day of February, the commons had presented an address to the queen, advising her to marry, for the benefit of a quiet succession : and, in her reply, she said she was obliged to them for having forbore to mention any time or person ; but that she looked upon herself as married to her people ; that she had no inclination to alter her condition ; and that she should be very well pleased with the thoughts of their inscribing on her tomb, “ Here lies a queen, “ who lived and died a virgin.” The parliament enacted a statute, recognizing Elizabeth to be the lawful sovereign, by virtue of the act passed in the thirty-fifth year of her father’s reign. But the sentence of divorce between that king and Anne Boleyn was not reversed ; nor the act which confirmed the sentence, repealed. Then both houses converting their attention to the affairs of religion, passed several laws ordaining, that service should be performed in the vulgar tongue : That the supremacy of the church of England should be vested in the sovereign : That all the acts relating to religion, which had passed in the reign of the last Edward, should be renewed and confirmed : That the nomination to bishoprics should be vested in the queen, who might exercise her supremacy by any person she should think proper to appoint for that purpose : That all persons in office should take the oath of supremacy ; and that no person, under severe penalties, should, by word or writing, support any foreign authority in this kingdom : That there should be an uniformity of worship : That, on the vacancy of any bishopric, the queen might resume its manours and temporal possessions, making a just recompence to the see of personages inappropriate. Elizabeth abused this power, by stripping the sees of

The parliament confirms the queen’s supremacy.

Gardner.

of all their best manours, under the colour of giving equivalents in other impropriations. She was, by another act, put in possession of all religious houses; and they passed a statute, declaring that the condemnation of the Romish bishops, in the reign of Edward VI. was both just and lawful. A. C. 1559.

Elizabeth being vested with the supremacy, erected a tribunal called the High Commission-court, composed of a certain number of commissioners, who acted with the authority of the vicegerent, appointed in the reign of the eighth Henry. Some ecclesiastics having preached against the reformation, the queen forbade all persons to preach without licence under the great seal; and this prohibition irritated the lower house of convocation to such a degree, that, in a petition to her majesty, they maintained the doctrines of the Roman church. They afterwards proposed a public dispute between nine doctors of each party: but, when the disputants, assembled for this purpose, the Roman catholics declared they would not, without the pope's permission, dispute upon points which were already decided. Of nine thousand four hundred ecclesiastics, who held benefices in England, those who chose rather to renounce their livings than the Roman catholic religion, amounted to fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty canons, and about fourscore of the inferior clergy: their places being filled with protestants, the church of England was intirely reformed.

The reformation established.
Burnet.

While the queen effected this sudden change in religion within her dominions, the plenipotentiaries of France and England continued their negotiation at Cateau in the Cambresis; and the envoys of Philip II. who still entertained some hope of espousing Elizabeth, insisted upon Henry's restoring Calais to the English: but, when he saw the reformation established in England, and met with a final

A. C. 1559.

Treaty of
peace with
France.

repulse from the queen, he abandoned her interest, and compromised his difference with the French monarch. Elizabeth, finding herself thus deserted by the king of Spain, concluded a treaty with France, importing, that Henry should retain Calais, and the other places he had wrested from the English, for eight years; at the expiration of which they should be restored to the queen of England: That he should give security for paying to Elizabeth, or her successors, the sum of five hundred thousand golden crowns, in case those places should not be restored at the appointed time: That, over and above this payment, Henry and his successors should be obliged to restore Calais, and other places, according to the stipulations of the treaty: That the French king should give hostages for the performance of this article: That neither he, nor the king and queen of Scotland, nor Elizabeth, should attempt any thing against each other, directly or indirectly, to the prejudice of this treaty: That the fortifications of Aymouth, and all others raised in Scotland since the treaty of Boulogne, should be demolished: That all the other pretensions of the contracting parties, should remain in full force, until all disputes could be amicably compromised; And that they should not encourage or protect the rebellious subjects of each other. At the same time, a separate treaty of peace, to the same purpose, was concluded between the queens of England and Scotland, and ratified by Mary and her husband Francis the dauphin.

Henry would not have granted such favourable terms to Elizabeth, had he intended to observe the articles of the treaty: but his sole design in consenting to this peace, was to humour Philip, who, from a notion of punctilio, would not ratify his own peace with France, until he had mediated a treaty between the French king and Elizabeth. Not that he preserved the least regard to the interest
of

of England, or desired that Henry should adhere to the articles of the peace; but he thought his honour required that he should effect an apparent accommodation in favour of his ally. Immediately after the peace of Cateau, the dauphin and his consort Mary queen of Scots, assumed the title of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland; and caused the arms of England to be engraved on their seals and plate. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, complaining of this insult, received a very frivolous answer; and he repeating his remonstrance, the French ministry told him, the king and queen of Scotland had as good a right to assume the arms of England, as Elizabeth had to arrogate the title of queen of France. Though the constable Montmorency, who hated the Guise faction, prevailed upon Henry to lay aside this distinction, Elizabeth, from this period, considered Mary as a formidable rival, and the princes of Lorraine as her mortal enemies. Certain it is, they endeavoured to raise their niece Mary to the throne of England; and persuaded the French king, that through her means he would in time be able to unite all England and Ireland under his dominion.

A. C. 1559.

The dauphin and Mary queen of Scots assume the arms of England.

Camden.

This vast project flattered the ambition of Henry; and, as a preparatory step, he endeavoured to render his son absolute in Scotland. The queen-regent of that country was very well disposed to concur with his measures; but the attachment of her brother the cardinal to the Roman catholic religion, and her own bias to those principles, defeated their scheme. The reformation had made great progress in Scotland, under the auspices of John Knox, and others, possessed with the fanatical spirit of Calvin, and the French ministry concluded that they should never be able to carry their point, until they had totally suppressed those religious republicans,

A. C. 1559¹ who would never join in favour of a Roman catholic prince, against Elizabeth, who was a professed protestant. Henry II. at the instigation of the Guises, directed the queen-regent of Scotland to suppress the protestants; and she published an edict for that purpose, which involved the whole kingdom in confusion. Not contented with this step, she convoked the estates at Stirling, and proceeded so severely against some ministers of the reformed religion, that Knox and his associates openly preached against the catholic doctrine. He inflamed the people of Perth to such a degree, by his remonstrances, that they pillaged the churches, burned the images and ornaments, and destroyed the monastery of the Carthusians. The regent, incensed at these proceedings, assembled some troops, by means of the earls of Argyle and Athol, and began her march for Perth; but, understanding that the earl of Glencairn, with several other noblemen, were encamped in the neighbourhood of that place, with a view to oppose her progress, she proposed terms of accommodation; and the peace was concluded, on condition that the disputes about religion should be referred to the determination of the parliament. The confederates had no sooner dismissed their troops, than she re-established the mass at Perth, and secured the town with a strong garrison. It was on this occasion, that the earl of Argyle and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, natural son of James V. declared against the regent, and joined the protestant party. While they were employed in levying forces, the inhabitants of Cupar, St. Andrews, and several other towns, publicly renounced the Roman catholic religion, and committed the most barbarous excesses against the churches and convents, sacrificing every thing they contained, not even excepting the archives; in which the most material transactions of their nation were recorded. The confederates

The protestant lords of Scotland revolt against the regent.

assem-

assembling another army, made themselves masters of Perth, Scone, Stirling, and Linlithgow; and their forces daily encreasing, the queen-regent, and D'Oysel, who commanded two thousand French auxiliaries, retired with precipitation to Dunbar. Religion was the pretence which covered all these commotions; and, in fact, the motive which animated the people: but the chief actors were influenced by far other considerations. The French king wanted to crush the protestants, because they were attached to queen Elizabeth, whom he designed to dethrone. She, on the other hand, perceiving his drift, supported the reformers in Scotland, that they might employ all the forces he could send into that kingdom. The Scottish nobles declared for the protestant religion, in hope of one day enjoying the lands of the church; and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, is said to have thrown himself into the same scale, that he might, on the ruin of his sister Mary, ascend the throne of Scotland. The reformed clergy were generally wrong-headed fanatics, employed by more designing heads to kindle a spirit of madness and enthusiasm, which they converted to the purposes of their own interest.

Melvil.

Such was the situation of affairs in Scotland, when Henry II. of France being accidentally slain in a tournament, the crown of that kingdom devolved upon his son Francis I. who had married the queen of Scotland; and her uncles engrossed the whole administration. They forthwith sent a reinforcement of three thousand men, under La Brosse, to the queen-regent, who now compelled the confederates to retire in their turn, and harrassed them in such a manner, that they had recourse to queen Elizabeth, whose assistance they solicited in an address, which was presented to her by William Maitland of Lidington, lord secretary of Scotland. Cecil, who was the queen's chief counsellor, employed Henry Pier-

Camden.

They solicit the assistance of Elizabeth.

cy,

A. C. 1559. cy, as an agent with the Scottish confederates, who filed themselves the congregation; and they canted in such a manner about the gospel, and the extirpation of idolatry, that Elizabeth believed they were all hypocrites at bottom. Nevertheless, it was so much her interest to prevent the French from getting footing in Scotland, that she dissembled her sentiments, and promised to support them against the enemies of the true religion. Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to confer with Piercy concerning the defence of the Marches; and proper directions were communicated to Sir James Crofts, governor of Berwick. The duke of Norfolk was appointed lord lieutenant of the northern counties; William lord Gray constituted Warden of the Middle and East Marches; Thomas earl of Suffex sent back as lord lieutenant of Ireland, which he had formerly governed with great conduct and moderation; and William Winton, master of the naval stores, was promoted to the command of a squadron, with which he sailed into the Frith of Forch, destroyed several French ships of war, and annoyed the forces of that kingdom, which were in garrison in the isle of Inch-kieth. While Elizabeth took these measures for supporting the protestant interest in Scotland, Philip II. of Spain began to execute a resolution he had formed, to exterminate that religion from the Low Countries, which he meant to enslave. He secured the principal towns with Spanish garrisons, contrary to the privileges of the country. When he set out for Spain, he left the government in the hands of his aunt, Margaret dutchess of Parma, so as to excite the resentment of the prince of Orange, and the count of Egmont, who aspired to that dignity: but they were still more incensed at his leaving as her chief counsellor the cardinal of Granville, their professed enemy, whom they considered as the author of the scheme for enslaving their country. In the

Affairs of
the Low
Countries.

the course of this year, pope Paul IV. dying, was succeeded by cardinal Angelo de Medicis, who assumed the name of Pius IV.

A. C. 1559.
Death of
pope Paul
IV.
Grotius.

The situation of Elizabeth at this juncture was extremely perplexing and precarious. The pope and the French king were her professed enemies. Mary of Scotland claimed her crown by a title which many of the English subjects privately recognized. Philip of Spain had conceived an antipathy to her, from the repulse he sustained at her hands, and the alteration she made in the established religion of her country: the Irish were arrogant, ferocious, and blindly devoted to the papal authority; and all the catholics in England were averse to her dominion. In this emergency, she laid down two maxims, from which she never swerved through the whole course of her reign. The first was to conciliate the affections of her people; and the other to find work for her enemies in their own dominions. She was endowed with a great share of natural penetration: she had observed the characters of mankind. Knowing how to distinguish merit, she made choice of able counsellors: she administered justice impartially, without respect of persons: she regulated her expence with such oeconomy, as could not but be agreeable to her subjects, who had been fleeced under the preceding reigns; and having been accustomed to dissimulation, she not only assumed the utmost complacency in her deportment, but affected such an ardour of love and regard for her subjects, as could not fail to produce the warmest return of confidence and affection. Her frugality was not so much the effect of her natural disposition, as the result of good sense and deliberate reflection; for, when she thought the interest of her kingdom was at stake, she distributed her wealth with uncommon liberality, in fomenting the troubles of France, Scotland, and the Low Countries,

Elizabeth's
wife maxims of government.

A. C. 1559. tries, to employ her foes in such a manner as would prevent them from uniting for her destruction.

She sends a
body of
forces into
Scotland.

Influenced by these principles, Elizabeth understanding that the princes of Guise were employed in making great preparations for sending an army into Scotland, concluded a treaty with the earl of Arran, Duc de Chateleraud, and the rest of the Scottish confederates, whom she promised to support against the French forces, which still continued to pursue them among their mountains and morasses. Martigues had arrived from France, with a fresh reinforcement; and a very considerable armament was daily expected, under the command of the marquis D'Elbeuf: but his fleet being dispersed in a storm, he was obliged to return and refit; and domestic troubles intervening in France, the troops were converted to another purpose. The French forces in Scotland, after their expedition against the lords of the congregation, returned to Leith, which they had fortified; and the confederates marched towards Haddington, to join the English army under the lord Gray, amounting to eight thousand men. In the mean time the queen-regent, afraid of being shut up in Leith, retired to Edinburgh-castle, where she was honourably received by Erskine, the governor; though he still retained in his own hands, the command of the fortrefs. Lord Gray, being reinforced by the Scottish malecontents, resolved to undertake the siege of Leith; which was accordingly invested. During these transactions, the French king sent Monluc, bishop of Valence, as his ambassador to England, with instructions to desire Elizabeth would recal her troops from Scotland. And this prelate even proposed to restore Calais, if she would comply with the request. To this embassy the French king added De Seure, who joined Monluc in pressing her upon the same subject. She said she was ready to withdraw her troops

Camden.

from

from Scotland, provided Francis would recal those A. G. 1559 he had sent thither; but, in the mean time, she declared she would not put a poor fishing-town, such as Calais, in competition with the safety of her kingdom. The siege of Leith was still carried on by the English, though they made but little progress against such a numerous and gallant garrison.

At length the duke of Norfolk arrived in the camp of the besiegers, with a new reinforcement; notwithstanding which, they would have found it a difficult task to reduce the place, had not the conspiracy of Amboise been detected in France; and the princes of Lorraine found it necessary to recal their troops from Scotland. Monluc and the count of Randan were sent thither with full powers to conclude a treaty with Elizabeth and the malcontents. Secretary Cecil and doctor Wotton were appointed plenipotentiaries for the English. The conferences

Camden.
Treaty of
Edinburgh.

were begun at Edinburgh; and, in the mean time, both parties agreed to a truce, during which, the queen-regent died in the castle. The French plenipotentiaries refused at first to treat with the Scottish confederates, alledging, they were in a state of rebellion: but an expedient was found to remove this objection. Namely, that Francis and Mary should make some concessions to the confederates, purely as the effects of their royal grace and favour; but that these should be nevertheless confirmed in the treaty with the queen of England. They agreed that the French troops should in twenty days be re-

The French
forces return
home.

conveyed to their own country in English bottoms: That Leith should be evacuated, and its fortifications demolished: That the works raised by the French at Dunbar should be dismantled: And that the king and queen of Scotland should grant an amnesty in favour of the confederates, to be confirmed by the parliament of Scotland. The French, however, were at liberty to leave sixty men in the
isle

A. D. 1550.
Buchanan.

isle of Inchkieth. The treaty with Elizabeth imported, That for the future, the king and queen of Scotland should refrain from assuming the title and arms belonging to the sovereign of England and Ireland: That the acts or patents which they had expedited under that title, should be altered or annulled: That a conference should be held in England, between the commissioners of the two crowns, in order to determine what further satisfaction was due to the queen of England: That, if they could not agree on this subject, the difference should be referred to the decision of the king of Spain: And, that the king and queen of France and Scotland should be obliged to confirm the concessions which had been made by the French plenipotentiaries to the Scottish confederates. After the conclusion of the treaty, the French and English retired from Scotland; the works of Leith and Dunbar were demolished; and the amnesty was confirmed by the estates of Scotland, which enacted divers laws in favour of the reformation. Though Francis and Mary confirmed these laws, they refused to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth, on pretence that she had treated with their rebellious subjects, as if they had formed an independent state: but the real design of the princes of Lorraine was, to wrest the crown of England out of the hands of the present possessor. Elizabeth was well aware of their intention, for which she, in the sequel, wreaked her vengeance upon their niece, the unfortunate queen of Scotland.

Rymer.

Notwithstanding the queen's declaration, touching her resolution to live unmarried, people in general believed her sentiments on that subject would change; and not only sovereign princes, but even some of her own subjects, aspired to the honour of a matrimonial crown. Charles, archduke of Austria, second son of the emperor Ferdinand, the king of Sweden, and the duke of Holstein, were numbered

bered among those who demanded her in marriage. The earl of Arran, son to the duke of Chateleraud, presumptive heir to the crown of Scotland, flattered himself that Elizabeth would prefer him to all his competitors, from a prospect of uniting the two kingdoms. The earl of Arundel, trusting to his noble birth, and ancient lineage, entertained hopes of espousing his sovereign. Sir George Pickering having received some particular marks of her esteem, amused himself with the notion of having captivated her affection: but, of all the courtiers, lord Robert Dudley, son of the late duke of Northumberland, enjoyed the greatest share of her favour. At her accession to the throne, she appointed him master of the horse; and he was admitted into the order of the garter. She seemed to take pleasure in distributing her favours through the canal of this nobleman, who was distinguished at court by the appellation of My Lord, as if he alone was worthy of that title. He was made acquainted with all the secrets of state affairs. The ambassadors reported the success of their negotiations to him, as to their sovereign; and to him, all solicitations were addressed. In a word, it plainly appeared that Elizabeth felt something more than bare esteem for Dudley, whose character by no means justified her favour; he inherited all his father's vices, and had nothing but personal accomplishments to recommend him to a lady of Elizabeth's penetration. Nevertheless, her behaviour with regard to him, was such as afforded subject for the most scandalous imputations to the prejudice of her reputation; and he was said to have poisoned his own wife, that he might be at liberty to wed his sovereign. Besides Dudley, she had two other favourites of another kind, namely, Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, and William Cecil her secretary, a minister of consummate judgment, extensive knowledge, indefatigable.

Dudley becomes a great favourite at court.

A. C. 1560. fatigable, impenetrable, and implicitly attached to the interest of his sovereign.

Camden.

Proposals
from the
pope to
Elizabeth.

Elizabeth found herself the more necessitated to employ able ministers at home, as she had scarce an ally abroad upon whom she could place the least dependence. Montague, whom she had sent as her ambassador to Philip, met with a very cold reception. That prince bewailed the alteration which had been made in religion within the queen's dominions, restored the collar of the order of the garter, which he would no longer retain, and declined renewing the alliance with England. The pope sent Vincent Pargaglia, abbot of St. Sauveur, with instructions, and a brief to queen Elizabeth, exhorting her to return within the pale of the church; promising that a general council should be convoked with all convenient expedition. The nuncio is said to have promised that the pope would annul the sentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, confirm the English liturgy, and allow the people to communicate in both species at the sacrament. But all those offers were rejected, because the queen had no opinion of the pope's sincerity. While the protestants in England enjoyed liberty of conscience, and the most agreeable repose, the Calvinists in France were persecuted without mercy, until they formed a conspiracy against the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, who were their professed enemies. The prince of Condé was said to favour them in private; and a gentleman called la Renaudie laid a scheme for carrying off the duke and the cardinal from the court of Amboise. This design being discovered, was interpreted into a conspiracy against the king, and twelve hundred persons were put to death, for having been concerned in the contrivance. The estates of the kingdom being convoked at Orleans, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, went thither; though they knew them-

themselves suspected and hated by the princes of Lorraine. The first was so narrowly watched that he could not escape; the other was imprisoned, and afterwards condemned to lose his life by the hands of the common executioner: but the death of Francis II. saved him from that ignominious fate. This event produced a total revolution in the politics of the French court. Charles IX. who succeeded his brother Francis, being still a minor, his mother, Catherine de Medicis, assumed the regency, with the consent of the king of Navarre, who, as first prince of the blood, was intitled to that office. In order to maintain her power she fomented the factions. The catholics were headed by the duke of Guise, the constable of Montmorency, and the marechal de St. Andre: the chiefs of the Huguenots or protestants, were the prince of Condé, the admiral de Coligny, and his brother D'Andelot; and the king of Navarre fluctuated between the two parties. The princes of Guise having occasion for all their power, to support their interest at home, laid aside all thoughts of the scheme they had formerly projected in favour of their niece Mary of Scotland, who, finding herself slighted by her mother-in law. resolved to return to her native land; and, in the mean time, quitted the title of queen of England, which she had hitherto assumed since the treaty of Cateau.

A. C. 1560.

Meserni.

Death of Francis II.

Elizabeth mean while employed her attention in making necessary regulations for the welfare of her people. She issued a proclamation, commanding anabaptists and heretics to quit the kingdom in twenty days, on pain of imprisonment; and forfeiture of goods and chattels. She published another against those sacrilegious persons who, under colour of abolishing superstition, defaced ancient monuments and epiraphs, and robbed churches of bells, leaden roofs, and other appurtenances. She con-

Regulations in England.

A. C. 1560. verted Westminster-abbey into a collegiate church; and the coin, which had been debased in the reign of her father, she now reduced to its intrinsic value. Shan O'Neal, an Irish nobleman, raising a rebellion in that kingdom, a body of forces was sent over to reduce him. After some skirmishes, finding himself unable to cope with the government, he laid down his arms, by the advice of his kinsman the earl of Kildare, and submitted to the queen's mercy. Elizabeth was no sooner apprised of the death of Francis, than she sent the earl of Bedford into France, with compliments of congratulation to the new king, and instructions to desire Mary queen of Scots would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. This demand, however, Mary eluded, by saying, that as she was altogether without advisers, she would wait the arrival of some Scottish noblemen, whom she expected in France; and, with their concurrence, give satisfaction to the queen of England.

A. C. 1561.
Elizabeth
demands a
confirmation of the
treaty of
Edinburgh.

Melvil's
Memoirs.

In the interim, that princefs quitted the court of France, and retired to Rheims; where she spent part of the winter with her uncle the cardinal. There she was visited by Martigues, La Brosse, and D'Oysel, on their return from Scotland, who advised her to conciliate the affection of her bastard brother James Stuart prior of St Andrews, the earl of Argyle, secretary Lidington, and the laird of Grange; and to confide in her protestant subjects, who were much more numerous and powerful than the catholics. On the other hand, John Lesley, afterwards bishop of Ross, to whom she granted an audience in her journey to Nancy, gave her to understand that he was commissioned by the catholics of Scotland, to assure her that she would find them ready to rise in a body under her royal banner, and re-establish the ancient religion by force of arms: they therefore intreated her to repair to Aberdeen with all

all convenient speed; and to distrust the prior of St. Andrews, whose ambition aspired at the throne she possessed. Next day she was at Joinville visited by the prior, who had gone over to France to present his respects to his sovereign. He confirmed her in the resolution to return to her native kingdom, and found means to ingratiate himself with her to such a degree, that she empowered him by patent to assemble the states, that they might pass such acts as should be found necessary for the good of the kingdom. He forthwith returned to Scotland; then convoking the parliament, the reformation was established by law, and all the monasteries were demolished. Mary being resolved upon her voyage, dispatched D'Oysel to queen Elizabeth, to solicit a safe-conduct, which was refused, except on condition that the queen of Scots should previously ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. This refusal was deeply resented by Mary, who complained to Throgmorton, the English ambassador, that Elizabeth, not contented with having supported her rebellious subjects, wanted to hinder her from returning to her own dominions; an insult which she had no reason to expect from any crowned head, much less from one to whom she was so nearly related. With respect to the treaty of Edinburgh, she said it had been concluded during the life of her husband; and if he refused to ratify it, the fault ought to be imputed to him only; that since she had been a widow, the council of France did not choose to intermeddle in the affairs of Scotland; and that the Scottish subjects who attended her were private persons, whom she neither could nor would consult in an affair of such importance.

Buchanan.

Mary desires a safe conduct of Elizabeth, which is refused.

Although she had reason to believe that Elizabeth would endeavour to intercept her at sea, she ventured to set sail for Scotland, where, though she arrived in safety, amidst the acclamations of her

She arrives in Scotland,

A. C. 1561. people, she had the mortification to see such severe laws in force against her religion, that it was with difficulty she herself was permitted to celebrate mass in her own private chapel. There was nothing liberal, generous, or disinterested, in the first Scottish reformers. They were actuated by a Gothic spirit of ignorant fanaticism, which they had imbibed from Calvin, and the apostles of Geneva. Among the noblemen of Scotland, the earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, and Sutherland, still adhered to the old religion; and the duke of Chateleraud seemed quite neutral. The Roman catholic lords and prelates did not doubt but that, with the countenance and protection of the queen, they should be enabled to restore the papal authority. As a previous step to this event, they endeavoured to prepossess their sovereign with a bad opinion of her natural brother James Stuart, to whom she had in a great measure committed the administration of her affairs. In the mean time, Mary had been instructed by her uncles to cultivate a friendship with Elizabeth; in hope of prevailing upon that princess to declare her the successor to the crown of England. Accordingly Mary dispatched Maitland as her ambassador, to inform her sister queen of her happy arrival in her own dominions, and solicit the friendship of Elizabeth. He likewise delivered a letter, subscribed by the principal noblemen of Scotland, who, after a profusion of compliment, advised the queen of England to declare her cousin Mary her presumptive heir; a declaration that would produce a perfectly good understanding between the two nations. Elizabeth expressed her surprise that the queen of Scotland had not ratified the treaty of Edinburgh since her arrival; but she admitted the excuse of the ambassador, who told her that Mary had not yet found leisure to deliberate upon a matter of such importance. With respect to the letter she had received

ceived from the Scottish lords, she flatly refused to make any declaration that would expose her to the risque of seeing her subjects adore the rising sun. She said she had no intention to deprive the queen of Scotland of her right; but that she would not allow her to pluck the crown from her head; and expected, in the mean time, that Mary would make proper satisfaction for having usurped her arms and title. Nevertheless, she agreed to maintain a correspondence with her; and many letters passed between them, filled with professions of the most unreserved friendship, while they hated each other in their hearts, with all the rage of jealousy and disdain.

A C 1561.
Negotiations
of Walsing-
ham.

Mary corre-
sponds with
queen Eliza-
beth.

Melvil's
Memoirs.

The pope, notwithstanding the answer which had been made to Parpaglia, appointed the abbot Martinengo his nuncio in England, to go thither and notify to Elizabeth that the council of Trent would be continued, and desire that she would send some English bishops to that assembly. The queen forbidding the abbot to enter her dominions, her ambassador Throgmorton was desired by the nuncio at Paris, to communicate this intimation to his sovereign; who answered, that she had no business with the pope; that she wished with all her heart to see an oecumenical council assembled: but that she would never acknowledge a council convoked by the bishop of Rome, who had no more power than any other bishop. She was utterly destitute of allies, and had reason to dread every thing from the enmity of Philip, who, now that Francis II. was dead, made no scruple of avowing his animosity, excited partly by the repulse he had sustained when he demanded her in marriage, and partly by his resentment for her having suppressed the catholic religion. He solicited the pope to denounce the sentence of excommunication against her; he treated her ambassadors with contempt, and allowed the officers of the in-

Camden.

A. C. 1561. quifition to persecute the English traders in his Spanish dominions. Elizabeth expected a storm from that quarter. She doubted the sincerity of the Scottish queen, who still eluded the ratification of the treaty, and carried on a correspondence with the catholics of England: it was therefore time to take the wisest precautions for the defence of her crown and dignity. She equipped a noble fleet, which secured the empire of the sea; she erected forts for the protection of her harbours; she augmented the garrisons, and strengthened the fortifications of Berwick; she trained the national militia to the exercise of arms; she encouraged trade and manufacture, reformed the oeconomy of her household, and won the favour of her subjects, by avoiding demands of subsidies, and administering justice with the utmost impartiality.

Elizabeth puts the nation in a posture of defence.

A. C. 1562. It was not without reason that she exerted her endeavours in this manner. The catholics began to cabal in private, and form schemes for the re-establishment of their religion. The queen found upon inquiry that Mary of Scotland maintained a correspondence with the malcontents, and that the earl and countess of Lennox had some secret communication with the queen of Scots; and therefore committed them close prisoners to the Tower of London. She afterwards discovered that Arthur Pole, nephew to the late cardinal, with his brother Edmund, and Anthony Fortescue, had engaged in a conspiracy against the government: that their intention was to repair to France, where the Guises promised to supply them with five thousand men, to be transported into Wales; and there they designed to proclaim Mary queen of England, while Arthur Pole should be declared duke of Clarence. They were immediately arrested, with their accomplices, and confessed they had formed such a scheme; but protested they had no design to put it in execution.

Conspiracy of Arthur Pole.

cution before the death of queen Elizabeth, which, A. C. 1562. from the prediction of two pretended astrologers, they believed would happen in the spring. They were upon their own confession condemned; but the queen pardoned them, in consideration of their illustrious origin. She did not manifest the same clemency towards Catherine Gray, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and sister to lady Jane, who had been beheaded in the preceding reign. This lady having been married to the earl of Pembroke, and divorced from him for political reasons, afterwards espoused in private the earl of Hertford, who went to France, upon his travels, after the marriage, which was discovered by Catherine's pregnancy. Elizabeth, who looked upon this lady as a rival in her title to the throne, was so incensed when she heard of her condition, that she sent her prisoner to the Tower, whither also her husband was committed when he returned to England. As he could not prove his marriage by legal evidence, it was annulled by a sentence of the archbishop of Canterbury. Imprisonment of lady Catherine Gray. Nevertheless, the earl found means to visit Catherine after her delivery; and she conceived again. Then he was accused and convicted of having escaped from prison, corrupting a princess of the blood, and cohabiting with a woman from whom he had been separated by a legal process. He was fined in five thousand pounds; and, after a long confinement, obliged to relinquish Catherine by a formal deed: but the queen never could forgive his wife, who died in prison. Camden.

She had a much more formidable competitor in the person of Mary, whose uncles, of the house of Guise, now began to renew their old scheme in her favour. They had engaged the king of Navarre, and the constable Montmorency, in their interest: they detained the king and the queen-mother in captivity: they covered their designs with the pretext of religion, and even massacred the Huguenots

A. C. 1562. at Vassy. The queen-regent had written to the prince of Condé, conjuring him to assist her and the king in their distress; and that prince, putting himself at the head of the protestants, surprised Orleans. A civil war immediately commenced, and the Huguenots being severely handled, in the first campaign, deputed the vidame of Chartres to implore the assistance of Elizabeth. She was glad of an opportunity to foment the divisions of France, for her own preservation; and forthwith concluded a treaty, by which she engaged to furnish the Huguenots with one hundred thousand crowns in money, and six thousand foot soldiers, for the defence of Dieppe, Rouen, and Havre-de-Grace, which last place she intended to keep, until Calais should be restored, according to the stipulation of the treaty of Cateau and Cambresis. Paul de Foix, ambassador of France at the English court, demanded that the vidame and all his attendants should be delivered into his hands, as traitors to their country; but Elizabeth rejected his request. In September, the earl of Warwick was sent to Normandy with the promised reinforcement; and Rouen being at that time besieged by the king of Navarre, he divided them between Dieppe and Havre-de-Grace, of which the queen had appointed him governor. Rouen was taken by assault, where the king of Navarre was mortally wounded. The prince of Condé having received another reinforcement from the protestant princes of Germany, advanced to the neighbourhood of Paris, where he was amused by the Guises with a negotiation, until the city was rendered defensible, and fortified too strongly for him to attempt the siege; so that he retired towards Normandy, whither the enemy attended his motions. Immediately after Condé's departure from the neighbourhood of Paris, war was proclaimed in that city against Elizabeth; but the king, and queen regent, who was by this time reconciled to the Guises and

Civil war in France.
The Huguenots assisted by Elizabeth, who takes possession of Havre-de-Grace.

Mézérai.

the constable, finding themselves unprepared for hostilities, disowned the proclamation; and Elizabeth was satisfied with a letter from the king on that subject. Yet, on this occasion, she acted contrary to the advice of Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who exhorted her to seize this opportunity of recovering Calais, the fortifications of which were in a ruinous condition, and the place almost destitute of a garrison. In the latter end of the year a battle was fought at Dreux, between the Catholics and Huguenots, with doubtful success. In the beginning of the action, the constable Montmorency fell into the hands of the protestants, who conveyed him to Orleans; but afterwards the prince of Condé, being deserted by the German auxiliaries, was taken by M. Damville; and the duke of Guise encamped on the field of battle, tho' his loss exceeded that of the protestants.

Elizabeth was just recovered of the small pox, when the parliament meeting in January, petitioned, in an address, that she would alter her condition, and settle the succession, in order to avoid the calamities which a competition might produce. She did not chuse to declare her sentiments with regard to marriage; but assured them that, before her death, she would provide for the safety of the nation. Several laws were made for the relief of the poor, and the encouragement of commerce and agriculture; and the parliament indulged her with an entire subsidy, and two fifteenths, for enabling her to counter-work the efforts of her enemies. The convocation likewise granted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, and drew up a confession of faith in thirty-nine articles, as an improvement upon those established in the reign of the sixth Edward. While Elizabeth thus regulated her domestic affairs, the duke of Guise invested Orleans, which was defended by D'Andelot, brother of the admiral, who marched

A.C. 1563. marched into Normandy with the Huguenot army, to make a diversion in favour of the besieged, and receive supplies of men and money which he expected from the queen of England. Orleans was almost reduced to extremity, when the duke of Guise was mortally wounded with a pistol bullet, by a young gentleman called Poltrot. The duke finding his end approaching, expressed a deep-felt remorse at the remembrance of his having excited a civil war, and exhorted the queen-regent to conclude a peace with all possible expedition. Both sides were by this time weary of the war, and a pacification ensued, in which Elizabeth was not comprehended. Nay, the Huguenots, whom she had assisted, actually joined the forces of the French king, which undertook the siege of Havre-de-Grace, occupied by the earl of Warwick at the head of an English garrison. The place was defended with uncommon courage and perseverance, until the plague insinuated itself among the besieged; and then they were obliged to capitulate. The remains of the garrison carried over the infection to London, where it swept off above thirty-thousand of the inhabitants; and the reduction of Havre-de-Grace was succeeded by a truce between the two nations.

Pacification in France.
The English are besieged in Havre-de-Grace, and obliged to capitulate.

Camden.

Metcalf.

The death of the duke of Guise produced a great change in the affairs of the Scottish queen. Charles IX. of France was now governed by the counsel of his mother, who subjected Mary to divers mortifications. The payment of her jointure was intermitted, the Scottish guard disbanded, and the duke of Chateleraud deprived of his French revenue. Her uncle the cardinal fearing that this treatment would provoke her to a sincere coalition with Elizabeth, pressed her to marry Charles archduke of Austria, brother to Maximilian king of the Romans; and she seemed to relish the proposal, which, as an instance of confidence, she communicated to the queen

of England. Elizabeth, alarmed at the prospect of such a powerful match as might enable her rival to execute the scheme which the cardinal had projected, ordered Randolph, her minister in Scotland, to tell Mary in her name, that out of sisterly affection and regard for her interest, she could not help exhorting her to consider that such an alliance might remove her for ever from the throne of England; as the English would never run the risk of being subject to the house of Austria: she ought therefore to consult her own interest, in conciliating the affection of the English people, by matching with some popular and distinguished nobleman of their country. Though Randolph pointed at no particular person, he insinuated to Mary's natural brother, by this time created earl of Murray, and to secretary Lidington, that he believed his queen had lord Dudley in her eye, as a proper husband for their sovereign. Mary imparted this answer to her uncle the cardinal, who vehemently dissuaded her from contracting a match so unworthy of her dignity, and flattered her with the promise of an alliance in her favour, to be formed by the pope, the kings of France and Spain, and the English Roman catholics. Mary was not a little perplexed by these opposite counsels; at length she resolved to think no more of the match with the archduke, and to decline the hinted proposal of Elizabeth, without interrupting the correspondence between them, which afforded opportunities of cultivating her English friends; and these were now become very numerous by the death of Frances Brandon dutchess of Suffolk, who was her rival in the succession, as having been grand-daughter of the seventh Henry.

A. C. 1563.

Elizabeth defeats the project of a match between Mary of Scotland and Charles archduke of Austria.

Camden,

The truce between France and England was at length improved into a peace, negotiated by Sir Thomas Smith, and Throgmorton, who had been arrested in France at the declaration of war. The treaty,

A. C. 1564.

Peace with
France and
the Low
Countries.

treaty, which was concluded at Troye in Campagne, made no mention of the restitution of Calais, but imported that the hostages should be set at liberty on the payment of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns to Elizabeth; and that peace and amity should subsist between the contracting powers, with full reservation of their mutual rights and pretensions. Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, Charles IX. was created knight of the garter, and the lord Hunsdon sent over to Paris to invest him with the ensigns of the order. England at this juncture enjoyed the most profound tranquillity. Her trade with the Low-Countries had been interrupted by the intrigues of cardinal Granville, who, foreseeing a war in the Netherlands, wanted to remove the English, and persuaded the government to prohibit the importation of English broad-cloth; a branch of traffic which was carried on to a prodigious extent. But Philip perceiving this prohibition was in all respects as detrimental to his own subjects as to those of England, desired the old treaty, made in the reign of Maximilian, might be renewed; and the affair was determined to the satisfaction of both nations.

The repose of queen Elizabeth was still invaded by the apprehension of Mary's designs upon her crown and dignity. She could not bear the thoughts of competition for the throne she possessed: she had not forgiven that princess for having assumed her arms and title, and refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh: she dreaded her marriage with some Roman catholic prince, who might be able to assert her pretensions; and she was even weak enough to repine at the fame of her beauty and personal accomplishments. On the other hand, Mary had been taught to consider the queen of England as a bastard, an heretic, and usurper, who intercepted her right to one of the fairest kingdoms of Europe, and fomented
rebellions

rebellion in the heart of her dominions. These A. C. 1564 causes of animosity subsisting, there was no room for sincerity or friendship and mutual confidence; nevertheless, both found their account in dissembling their real sentiments. Elizabeth, in order to dissuade her from marrying the archduke, made use of some arguments which gave offence to Mary; and she, in her answer, used expressions of disgust that incensed the queen of England; so that, for some time, their correspondence suffered an interruption; Mary reflecting how much it was her interest to maintain an intercourse with Elizabeth, sent Sir James Melvil to London, with a letter containing Melvil's Memoirs. some concessions; and a proposal of renewing their former friendship. The queen of England, who surpassed her in dissimulation, admitted her excuses with great good humour, expressed the warmest affection for her royal kinswoman; and, in order to prevent her espousing a foreign prince, endeavoured to engage her in a negotiation for a marriage with lord Dudley, to whom she plainly alluded, though she never mentioned his name. Not that she wished this match might really take effect: she loved Dudley too well to part with him to a detested rival; but her aim was to detach the queen of Scotland from the alliance with the house of Austria; and amuse her with a treaty which never would be brought to perfection.

Elizabeth proposes lord Dudley as an husband for the Scottish queen.

Mary, far from thinking seriously of espousing Dudley, had already resolved to give her hand to the lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lennox, who had married the daughter of Margaret queen of Scotland, and Archibald Douglas her second husband. Henry VIII. who was this lady's uncle, bestowed her in marriage upon Matthew Stuart earl of Lennox, who, in his reign, took refuge in England; so that the queen of Scots purposed to unite the rights of the two families by her marriage with lord Mutual animosity and dissimulation of both queens. Darnley,

A.C. 1564 Darnley, who, as well as herself, was a grandchild of the seventh Henry. Suspecting that Elizabeth would thwart her in this design, should she discover it, she acted with great circumspection; and, as a previous step, recalled the earl of Lennox into Scotland, that he might be put in possession of his lands, which had been confiscated during the regency of the duke of Chateleraud. The queen of England perceived her drift, though she seemed entirely ignorant of her purpose; for she was not sorry to find she had cast her eyes on a young nobleman whose father possessed a great estate in England, consequently would be so far subject to her will and pleasure, that she could prevent the marriage without interrupting the treaty. Mary disguised her sentiments with equal art: she pretended to be guided entirely by the counsels of Elizabeth; and, even after she resolved to wed the lord Darnley, appointed commissioners to treat with those of England on the subject of her marriage, though she very well knew that Elizabeth would propose Dudley, whom she had by this time created earl of Leicester. Accordingly, the earl of Bedford being appointed commissioner, conferred with the earl of Murray, and secretary Lidington, at Berwick, where he recommended Leicester as a proper husband for queen Mary: but the proposal was received so coldly by the Scottish deputies, that he did not think proper to insist upon it, especially as the earl of Leicester had desired he would not press the affair, either because he knew it would be disagreeable to Elizabeth, or would interfere with the design he harboured of espousing his own sovereign. Sir James Melvil, at his return to Scotland, assured his mistress that there was no sincerity in the professions of Elizabeth, who never intended that she should marry Dudley; but only amused her with such proposals, that she might be diverted from the Austrian match. He gave her

Camden.

to understand, that the queen of England had sent the earl of Suffex to the Imperial court, on purpose to prevent the marriage, by insinuating that she herself was well disposed to accept the archduke for her husband; and this discovery did not diminish the hatred of Mary towards Elizabeth. The emperor dying in the course of this year, was succeeded by Maximilian, who had been always averse to the Scottish match; so that Elizabeth having nothing farther to fear from that quarter, began to discover her real sentiments. Mary, in order to sound her inclinations, had promised to comply with her desire in wedding the earl of Leicester, provided she would declare her presumptive heir of the English crown; and now Elizabeth instructed Randolph, her ambassador in Scotland, to tell her cousin Mary, that she would raise Leicester to all the honours she could bestow upon a subject, and favour the title of the queen of Scots in every thing but the inquisition of her right, and the declaration of her succession, in which she would do nothing until she herself should either marry, or notify her determination on that subject. Though Mary had never reposed any real confidence in her sincerity, she was so shocked at this message, that she could not help bursting into tears, and reviling Elizabeth for her double dealing.

By this time the queen of Scotland was in a great measure directed by David Riccio, an obscure Piedmontese, who came to Scotland in the service of the count de Moretto, the ambassador of Savoy. He was first employed as musician at the court of Mary, with whom he soon ingratiated himself by his insinuating address, and was promoted to the office of secretary for the French language. She was weak enough to make him afterwards her chief favourite and counsellor; and he attracted the envy and hatred of the nobility, who looked upon him as a presumptuous

A. C. 1564. sumptuous upstart, intoxicated and rendered insolent by the favour of their sovereign; and all the protestant lords detested him as an agent of the pope. In all likelihood this stranger had a considerable share in persuading Mary to espouse the lord Darnley, who was a professed Roman catholic, and therefore agreeable to the cardinal of Lorraine; though he affected at first to disapprove of the marriage. Lord Darnley having obtained leave from Elizabeth to make a journey into Scotland, was received by queen Mary with extraordinary marks of esteem; and the beauty of his person soon made an impression upon her heart. He forthwith engaged in the strictest intimacy with Riccio; and now the credit of Murray, who was at the head of the protestant party, visibly decreased. All his enemies were called to court; and he entered into an association with the duke de Chateleraud, the professed enemy of Lennox, the earls of Argyle, Rothes, Marr, Glencairn, and several other noblemen, to oppose a marriage which they believed would be fatal to the reformed religion. Mean while Mary obtained a dispensation from the pope, together with a formal approbation of the marriage, signed by the noblemen who were devoted to her interest and inclination; then she wrote a letter to Elizabeth, communicating her intention, against which she seemed to think her sister and cousin could have no objection.

Lord Darnley arrives in Scotland,

Camden.

The queen of England immediately convoked a council to deliberate on this affair; and the result of their consultation was, that the marriage would endanger the religion and safety of England, in establishing the Roman catholic doctrine in Scotland; and uniting the interest of two houses which pretended to the English crown. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was immediately dispatched with instructions to expostulate with Mary against the match; and represent that by such a step, which was

was extremely disagreeable to the English nation, she would run the risque of seeing all her hopes of the succession defeated. Mary replied, that she had gone too far to recede ; and that queen Elizabeth had the less reason to complain, as she had followed her advice, in chusing for a husband an English nobleman of the royal blood of both kingdoms. The queen of England finding her remonstrances ineffectual, sent orders to the earl of Lennox and his son to return, on pain of forfeiting their estate ; but they did not think proper to obey her command : then she directed Throgmorton to encourage the malcontents of Scotland, with the promise of her assistance and protection ; but, notwithstanding all her endeavours, the marriage between the Scottish queen and Darnley was celebrated on the twentieth day of July. Mary putting herself at the head of some troops, pursued the malcontents from place to place, until they were obliged to take refuge in England. Murray being chosen their deputy, repaired to London, and solicited the protection of Elizabeth, who gave him to understand, by her emissaries, that he had nothing to expect from her, unless he would publicly own that she had no concern in their revolt. Having extorted such a confession from this mean-spirited nobleman, in presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, she reviled them as rebels and traitors, and forbade them to appear before her face : nevertheless, they found protection in her dominions ; and the earl of Bedford, by her private order, supplied them with money for their subsistence. Mean while Mary convoked an assembly of the estates of her kingdom, that the fugitives might, by an edict, be degraded and banished.

and is married to the queen of that country:

The earl of Murray and the revolt- ing Scottish lords take refuge in England. Melvil.

Negotiations of Walsingham,

As Mary and her new husband engaged in fresh schemes against the interest of Elizabeth, this prince sent a person called Tamworth, with a letter

A. C. 1564 to the queen of Scots, demanding that the lord Darnley should be delivered into her hands, according to the stipulation in the last treaty, by which the two queens obliged themselves to give up the rebellious subjects of each other. To this letter Mary replied, that she would attempt nothing in England during the life of Elizabeth, provided she might be declared presumptive heir of the crown by act of parliament. She had, however, sent Yoxley to the court of Spain, and put herself and her husband under the protection of Philip. After the dissolution of the council of Trent, the pope had endeavoured to form a league with the courts of France, Spain, and the empire, for the extirpation of the reformed religion: at length, in a conference between the queen of Spain and her brother the French king, who met on the frontiers; and, by means of a correspondence between the queen-mother and the duke of Alva, the resolution was taken, and measures were concerted for crushing the Huguenots in France, the protestants in the Low Countries, and the reformation in all parts of Europe. This league, thus formed at Bayonne, was sent over to Scotland, and subscribed by Mary; and her relations, of the house of Guise, pressed her to proceed with rigour against the fugitive lords. These solicitations were supported by her minister Riccio, who maintained a correspondence with the pope; and Mary's council agreed that the forfeiture of the rebels should be proposed in the parliament, which had been prorogued immediately after its last meeting. In a word, the Roman catholic interest now prevailed at court: she admitted the earls of Huntley and Bothwell into her council and confidence, and every thing seemed to portend the re-establishment of the old religion.

Almost all the common people of Scotland were protestant fanatics. The majority of the nobles

Melvil.

Mary engaged in the catholic league at Bayonne.

Thuanus.

had embraced the same religion, because they found ^{A. C. 1541.} their account in possessing the church-lands, which they seized at the beginning of the reformation. Some of these reformers still maintained an influence at court; namely, the earl of Morton, and the lords Ruthven and Lindsay. They dreaded the forfeiture of the fugitive lords, which would have ruined the protestant interest in Scotland. They perceived the king was disgusted at Riccio, on the supposition that he had hitherto prevented him from obtaining the matrimonial crown: that he engrossed too great a share in the queen's favour, and assumed the whole administration. Henry was weak, giddy, and inconstant; dissolute, proud, and imperious. He had solicited the matrimonial crown with the utmost impatience, and treated the queen in the most insolent manner. Mary could not ^{Crawford} help despising his character, and resenting his presumption. The earl of Morton knew his disposition, and tampered with his passions, by means of his emissary George Douglas, the king's natural uncle. His resentment was inflamed against Riccio, whom they represented as his inveterate enemy, who would alienate the queen's affection from him, and entirely supersede his authority, unless he would form a balance of power in his own favour, by procuring the pardon of the exiled lords. In which case they would not only fix the matrimonial crown upon his head, but also pass an act of parliament for continuing the royal succession in his person, should he survive queen Mary. They resolved up ^{Keith} on the death of Riccio, as a necessary step towards the success of this alliance. Henry took an oath of secrecy. Articles were drawn between him and the rebel lords. He bound himself to obtain their remission, restore them to their estates, espouse their just quarrels, and concur with them in supporting and establishing the protestant religion. They

A. C. 1565. obliged themselves to procure for him the matrimonial crown, and to maintain his title to the succession, should the queen die without issue. He likewise signed a bond, declaring, that as the murder of Riccio was undertaken at his own desire, he would bear the perpetrators harmless. These articles being settled, the king, on the ninth day of March, about seven in the evening, entered the queen's apartment, while she was at supper with the countess of Argyle, her natural brother the commendator of Holyrood-house, David Riccio, and several other persons. He was followed by Patrick Ruthven, who commanded Riccio to follow him, in the king's name. Mary asking if her husband had given such orders; and he answering in the negative, she ordered Ruthven out of her presence, declaring that Riccio should appear before the parliament, and answer to what might be laid to his charge. Then Ruthven attempting to seize the secretary, he fled for refuge behind the queen's chair.

David Riccio is assassinated in the presence of queen Mary.

Melvil,

At that instant George Douglas, with a party of armed men, rushing into the apartment, struck him with a dagger over her shoulder, while the queen attempting to interpose in his defence, was withheld by her husband. He was then dragged into another chamber, and butchered by the conspirators. Ruthven returning to the queen, upbraided her with following the counsels of Riccio; with having favoured the Romish religion; admitted Huntley and Bothwell into her council; engaged with foreign powers for the destruction of the protestants; and with having attainted the fugitive lords, who were expected in Edinburgh next day, in consequence of the king's pardon and message. While the conspirators acted this tragedy, the earl of Morton secured the gates of the palace with a body of troops. Huntley, Bothwell, and some others, escaped out at windows; but the earl of Athol,

Athol, secretary Lidington, Tullibardin, and Sir ^{A. C. 1565.} James Balfour, were permitted to retire. The queen was detained all night a prisoner in her apartment. Next morning Henry issued a proclamation, commanding all the lords spiritual and temporal convened in parliament to retire in three hours from Edinburgh; and, in the evening, the earls of Murray and Rothes, with their friends, arrived from England. A council being held, it was resolved that the queen should be sent under a guard to the castle of Stirling, to remain in custody until she should approve in parliament of all they had done, establish the protestant religion, bestow the matrimonial crown upon the king, and resign the whole administration into his hands.

Mary, in this deplorable situation, had recourse to the friendship of her brother Murray, who, rather than incur any share of the odium resulting from the murder of Riccio, refused to join the perpetrators. The king, who was extremely fickle and irresolute, began to repent of that barbarous transaction; and the queen perceiving him fluctuating, proposed an accommodation, which they were now glad to embrace. When the articles were drawn up, she observed that it would be of no force should she sign them while she remained in captivity; and the guard being withdrawn, she escaped to Dunbar, whither she was accompanied by her husband. Having thus recovered her liberty, she pardoned the earls of Murray, Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairn; as for the duke of Chateleraud, he had parted from them before their flight to England. Then she gave vent to her indignation against the murderers of Riccio. Morton, Ruthven, and Douglas, fled to Newcastle; but some of their accomplices were executed; and now she laid aside all marks of regard for Henry. Indeed, when we consider, over and above the former provocations she

Mary escapes to Dunbar.

A. C. 1565 had undergone from his insolent behaviour, this last additional outrage, we cannot suppose that any woman of spirit and sensibility could help looking upon him with abhorrence and detestation. He had even contrived the murder of her favourite in such a manner as would most conduce to her horror and affliction. He insisted upon Riccio's being assassinated in her presence, although she was at that time six months advanced in her pregnancy; allowed her to be insulted by Ruthven, while her mind must have been in the utmost agitation; and afterwards confined her in a chamber, secluded from her attendants, when most she needed their assistance and consolation. No wonder then that she now treated him in her turn with indifference and disdain. When she assembled a body of forces and returned to Edinburgh, he disowned the transaction in the privy-council, and signed a declaration to this effect, which was published by way of proclamation; so that he incurred the universal contempt of the people. The queen effected a formal reconciliation between the fugitive lords and the earls of Huntley and Bothwell; though it does not seem to have been sincere on the part of the latter, who endeavoured to persuade her that Murray intended to bring back Morton and his confederates, while she should be confined in child-bed.

Melvil.

raises a body
of forces,
and quiets
the disturb-
ances of her
kingdom.

A. C. 1566. On the nineteenth day of June, Mary was delivered of a son, in the castle of Edinburgh: and Sir James Melvil immediately dispatched to the court of England, to notify this event to Elizabeth, who was desired to stand godmother to the prince of Scotland. The ambassador found Elizabeth at Greenwich, where he was graciously received; and the queen expressed uncommon joy at the news of Mary's delivery. But this was all affectation: for when Cecil made her acquainted with the event on the preceding evening, while she was engaged

She is delivered of a prince, afterwards king of England.

engaged in a ball with the nobility, she forthwith dismissed the company, and exhibited marks of sorrow and mortification. She seemed to think Mary's pregnancy a reproach upon her own barrenness. She looked upon that princess with the eyes of jealousy and envy. She had been lately seized with a disorder; and during her indisposition, the ministry began to cabal about the succession. Both parties, though ignorant of each other's resolution, had determined, in case of Elizabeth's death, to raise Mary to the throne of England. Perhaps the queen had received some intimation of their design, and considered the birth of this child as an event that would corroborate the interest of her rival. Her fears from that quarter were lately increased by the intelligence received from Rooksby, whom Cecil employed as a spy at the court of Mary. This man pretended to be a refugee from England, and professed the deepest rancour against Elizabeth. He found means to insinuate himself into the confidence of Mary, and discovered all her practices in England to his patron Cecil. Sir Robert Melvil, the Scottish ambassador at London, was forbid the court, for having caballed in favour of his mistress among the English malcontents. He, being informed of Rooksby's real character, gave notice to his mistress, who ordered the spy to be arrested, and seized upon his papers, among which were some of Cecil's letters in cypher. Sir Henry Killigrew had been sent to Scotland as ambassador-extraordinary, to congratulate Mary upon her recovering her liberty; and to assure her that the queen of England had, by a proclamation, ordered the earl of Morton and his accomplices to quit her dominions: notwithstanding which proclamation, they were privately assured of her protection. Killigrew was likewise instructed to complain of some disorders upon the border; of Mary's corresponding with O'Neal of Ireland, to

A. C. 1566.

Secret practices of the two queens in the dominions of each other.

A. C. 1566. spirit up a rebellion in that country; and of her protesting Rooksby, who was a rebellious subject of England. This last article of complaint furnished the Scottish queen with a pretext for arresting Rooksby; but Killigrew hearing of the discovery she had made, communicated the particulars to Cecil, and Elizabeth thought proper to drop the affair.

These circumstances considered, the two queens must have hated one another with the most implacable animosity. Yet they still preserved the external marks of friendship. Mary, in order to efface the impressions which Rooksby's intelligence must have made upon the mind of the English queen, wrote a letter to Sir Robert Melvil, forbidding him to maintain any correspondence with the malcontents of England; and sent another to secretary Cecil, protesting that she would give them no sort of countenance. Elizabeth, on the other hand, consented to stand godmother to the young prince of Scotland, who was baptized by the name of James, at Stirling, in presence of the ambassadors from France, England, and Savoy. After the ceremony, the earl of Bedford, who was Elizabeth's ambassador, pressed the queen of Scotland to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh: but Mary declined complying with this request. Nevertheless, she offered to sign a new treaty, importing, that she should not assume the title or arms of the queen of England, during the life of Elizabeth and her posterity. By this time her husband was treated with such indignity, that the earl of Bedford, when he departed from Scotland, desired Sir James Melvil to tell the queen from him, that she ought to live in another manner with the king, for the sake of her own reputation. He is even said to have been kept destitute of decent apparel, so that he could not appear in public; while the earl of Bothwell flourished

Camden.

Walsing.

Henry, king of Scotland, despised by the queen and the nation in general.

Melvil.

flourished in the queen's favour, and shone with the utmost magnificence, to the manifest dissatisfaction of the people, who looked upon him as an ambitious and profligate nobleman, devoid of principle and decorum.

About this period Elizabeth visited the university of Oxford, where she was magnificently entertained, A. C. 1566. The queen visits the university of Oxford. for a whole week, during which she assisted at several academical exercises. Camden. She answered a

Greek oration in the same language; and, in a Latin speech, assured the university of her constant favour and protection. She had been at Cambridge on a former occasion; and, in the same manner, testified her approbation of that university. On her return to London from the summer progress, the parliament was assembled; and a motion was made in the lower house for petitioning her majesty, that she would be pleased to marry, and settle the succession of the crown. This motion was suggested by the earls of Pembroke and Leicester, who had openly declared for the succession of queen Mary, as well as by the duke of Norfolk, who acted more covertly in her behalf; yet, in the debates which it produced among the commons, no mention was made of that princess. Some maintained the claim of Catherine Grey countess of Hertford; others proposed her younger sister the countess of Cumberland. Cecil opposed the motion, and was reviled without doors, in lampoons and defamatory libels. The populace inveighed against the queen's physician doctor Huic, who was said to have dissuaded her from marrying, on account of some bodily infirmity; and some members within the house ventured even to charge her with abandoning her country and posterity. The address being presented, she signified her intention to marry; but observed that she could not declare her successor without danger to her own person. The commons, dissatisfied

with

The parliament address the queen to marry, and settle the succession

C. 1566. with this answer, began to resume the matter; and she sent two messages, requiring them to proceed no further. At length she remitted the third payment of a subsidy they had granted, in hope of prevailing upon her to declare her successor; and dismissed them with a speech, in which she reprimanded them harshly for their officious interposition. She knew, that although they had not named Mary, she was the person at whom they aimed: she could distinguish the friends and abettors of that princess; and the earls of Pembroke and Leicester were for some time disgraced on account of their attachment to the queen of Scotland. Nor was it without reason that Elizabeth declined taking any open step in favour of Mary's succession, if there was any truth in the assertion of Melvil, who affirms the friends of the Scottish queen were increased to such a degree in England, that some whole counties were ready to take up arms in her favour, under officers already named by the chief nobility.

McMil.

These steps taken in behalf of Mary, by her friends in England, were frustrated by an unfortunate event which about this time happened in her own kingdom. She had for some time lived unhappily with her husband, whose folly, caprice, and presumption, seemed daily to encrease. He had lost all credit at court, and of consequence hated those who seemed to have superseded his influence. Among these were Bothwell, Murray, and Lidington, who had by this time prevailed upon the queen to pardon Morton and Lindsay, for the murder of Riccio: Ruthven would have enjoyed the same favour, had not he died at Newcastle before the remission could be obtained. Henry was so incensed against Murray, that he threatened to take away his life; and the other receiving intimation of his design, is said to have contrived a scheme for anticipating his purpose, by assassinating the king himself.

self. That this project might operate the more effectually for his own interest, he is said to have engaged Bothwell in the execution of the murder, by soothing his vanity and ambition with the hope of espousing his sovereign. He looked upon this nobleman as the rival of his interest; and therefore sought to raise him to a dangerous pinnacle of power, from which his fall would be the greater. Morton and Lidington were the confidants and abettors of Murray in this enterprise. They had proposed a divorce to the queen, and she could not be averse to a separation from the man whom she could neither love or esteem: but she charged them to take no step which should hurt her conscience, or blemish her reputation. The king being taken ill at Glasgow, of a distemper which some people believed to be the effect of poison, administered by these confederates, Mary hastened thither, and attended him with the most conjugal tenderness, until he was in a condition to travel; then he was conveyed in a litter to Edinburgh; and, as the air of Holyroodhouse was damp and unhealthy, lodged in a higher situation, at a place called the Kirkfield, on the south side of the city. The house being undermined, was blown up with gunpowder in the middle of the night, and his body found at some distance under a tree. The earl of Murray had set out for St. Andrews on the preceding day, on a visit to his wife, who had miscarried: but, as he declared to one of his attendants, that the lord Darnly would lose his life before morning, many people suspected that he was accessory to the murder. But the voice of the public became so clamorous against Bothwell, that he could not help taking some steps for his own justification.

Henry, king of Scotland, is blown up with gunpowder.

Mean while Murray, being informed of the king's fate, returned to court, where he found the queen inconsolable: yet Bothwell still engrossed the greatest

A. C. 1566.

est share of the administration. He offered to maintain his innocence in single combat; and a paper was fixed up in several public places, accepting his challenge, provided he would fight in a neutral place, where his own influence did not predominate. The earl of Lennox wrote a letter to the queen, impeaching Bothwell of the murder, and demanding justice of her majesty: on the other hand, Murray, and several other noblemen, recommended him to the queen, as a proper person for her husband, both on account of his ancient family, and faithful services. A proclamation had been issued for detecting and apprehending the perpetrators of the king's murder; and Murray having concerted proper measures with his associates, obtained leave to retire from the kingdom, that his absence might the better screen him from suspicion. He accordingly set out for France, taking his way through England, where his conduct seems to have been countenanced. That he was concerned with the regicides, we may conclude from his declaration above mentioned, which the lord Herries affirmed to his face, at his own table, a few days after the murder; from the protestation of the earls of Huntley and Argyle to queen Elizabeth, in which they accused Murray, Morton, and Lidington, as the contrivers of the assassination; and from many other circumstances of Murray's character and conduct. At the same time we must own, it is very strange that neither Bothwell on his death-bed, nor Morton in his confession, nor any one person concerned in the murder, directly accused Murray of being an accomplice. The earl of Lennox continuing to importune Mary for justice on Bothwell, and the other assassins of his son, this nobleman applied himself to the earl of Argyle, lord justiciary of Scotland, desiring that he might be brought to his trial. The day was accordingly fixed, and intimation given to
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the earl of Lennox: but this accuser, conscious of his own weakness in point of interest, did not think proper to appear against Bothwell, who had the whole power of the kingdom in his hands. He desired that the trial might be postponed; and his request being denied, contented himself with sending an agent to protest against the proceedings of the court; notwithstanding which protest, Bothwell was acquitted, as no person appeared to carry on the prosecution; and his acquittal afterwards approved and confirmed by parliament. Then a good number of the nobility engaged in a bond of association to maintain his innocence with their bodies, heritage, and goods; and to promote and advance his marriage with her majesty.

Camden,

Bothwell acquitted of the murder.

Keith,

Thus supported, Bothwell resolved to marry the queen by force, provided he could not obtain her voluntary consent: with this view he raised a body of eight hundred horse, and intercepting her on her return from Stirling, conveyed her to his castle of Dunbar, where he completed his rape. He forthwith commenced a suit for a divorce from his wife, who was sister to the earl of Huntley, on pretence of consanguinity, in the court of the archbishop of St. Andrews; and she prosecuted him at the same time, before the commissary-court for adultery with his maid-servant. He was convicted of the adultery, and sentence of divorce awarded against him; and the archbishop declared his marriage null and void, because he had, without a dispensation, married a person within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. Being now separated from his wife, in due course of law, he conducted the queen to the castle of Edinburgh, where she pardoned him for the rape, created him duke of Orkney, and finally married him, on the fifteenth day of May, contrary to the general sense of her people, and that regard she ought to have preserved for her own reputation. Notwithstanding the for-

Keith:

Bothwell carries off the queen, to whom he is afterwards married.

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A. C. 1566.

geries and calumny of her enemies, she appears to have been not only innocent and ignorant of the design against her husband's life, but also convinced of Bothwell's integrity. Nevertheless, we cannot vindicate her from the charge of indiscretion, in espousing a profligate nobleman, equally notorious for insolence and bad morals, supposed by the generality of her people guilty of her husband's murder; one who had presumed to ravish her, while his wife was still living, and his marriage in force; and who was afterwards convicted of adultery with another woman. This was undoubtedly an imprudent and fatal step, by which she entailed upon herself numberless mortifications, misery, and ruin. Bothwell, not satisfied with the honour of espousing his sovereign, endeavoured to make himself master of the person of the young prince, who had been committed to the care of the earl of Marr; but this nobleman refused to part with his charge. On the contrary, he engaged in an association against Bothwell, with those very lords who had bound themselves to maintain his interest.

He had now rendered himself odious to the nation; and Murray, by whose instigation they acted, thought it was high time to labour at his destruction. Having formed a league at Stirling, they raised a body of troops, on pretence of defending the young prince from the machinations of his stepfather; and they had well nigh surprised the queen and her husband at Holyrood-house, from whence she escaped with difficulty to the castle of Borthwick: there she was beleaguered by the earl of Home; but he could not prevent her escaping to the castle of Dunbar. Mean while the rebel lords entering Edinburgh, declared by proclamation, their design was to take vengeance on Bothwell for murdering the king, ravishing the queen, and conspiring against the life of the prince. From hence the
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proceeded against the queen, who had levied forces, and advanced as far as Prestonpans. The confederates found her posted upon Carberry-hill, and both sides prepared for an engagement. De Croc, the French ambassador, endeavoured in vain to effect an accommodation. After his misfortune, she desired to speak with Kirkaldy, laird of Grange, who assured her, the confederates desired nothing else than that she would send away the murderer of her husband. Bothwell challenged any man that would tax him with that crime. His challenge was accepted successively by Kirkaldy, Tullibardin, and the lord Lindsay: but his heart failed, and he chose to retire. The queen having complied with the conditions proposed by the confederates, was conducted to Edinburgh, where the populace treated her with the utmost indignity. From her palace of Holyrood-house, she was sent under a strong guard to the castle of Lochleven, belonging to William Douglas, uterine brother to the earl of Murray, who received an order signed by the associated lords, to detain her in safe custody. She was accordingly closely immured, and cruelly insulted by Murray's mother, who pretended she had been lawfully married to James V. and that Murray was the legitimate fruit of that marriage.

The lords having taken this rebellious step against their sovereign, apprehended several persons suspected of having been concerned in the murder of the king; and among these William Blackadder, who was convicted and condemned by a packed jury, and declared at his death that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but that he believed Murray and Morton were the contrivers of it. They allowed Bothwell time to escape to the Orkneys, and then they set a price upon his head by proclamation. The laird of Grange equipped two vessels; and, being accompanied by the bishop of the

Melvil.

Crawford.

Queen Mary
is confined
to the castle
of Lochle-
ven.

A. C. 1566. the Orkneys and the laird of Tullibardin, sailed directly to those isles; from whence Bothwell escaped with difficulty to Norway: but they took one of his ships, with some of his servants and adherents, who were afterwards executed for the murder. Some noblemen, who disapproved of the proceedings of the confederates, assembled at Hamilton, to deliberate upon means for releasing their sovereign; and to these the general assembly of the kirk, then sitting, sent an invitation to come and assist in regulating ecclesiastical affairs; but they refused to trust themselves in a place where they imagined their persons would not be safe. The queen of England being informed of Mary's imprisonment, affected to resent such an outrage offered by subjects to their sovereign; and perhaps she actually felt an emotion of jealousy at their presumption against the regal power, though from the beginning she had certainly fomented the troubles of Scotland. She dispatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to intercede for the captive queen, and to express her displeasure at Mary's confinement. He was instructed to threaten, in her name, that she would release their queen by force, should they refuse to set her at liberty on reasonable terms. He was furnished with a plan of accommodation between their sovereign and them; and directed to propose that the young prince should be educated in England. He was not permitted to see the queen, and all his endeavours proved ineffectual.

Queen Elizabeth interposes in her behalf.

A. C. 1567. Knox and all the other presbyterian preachers, exerted their talents and influence to inflame the minds of the people against the perpetrators of Darnley's murder; and did not scruple to accuse the queen as an accomplice in that assassination. The rebel lords prepared three instruments to be signed by the queen; namely, her resignation of the crown to her infant son; a commission appointing the earl of

Queen Mary is compelled to resign her crown, and Murray is appointed regent,

of

of Murray regent during his minority ; and another nominating a council to govern the realm in case of that nobleman's death, or his declining the office of regent. These deeds, she was compelled, by the most brutal usage, to subscribe ; and Morton accepted her resignation, in the name of the three estates of Scotland, though he was vested with no such power by that assembly. Then they proceeded to crown the prince, who was but thirteen months old ; and the ceremony was performed at Stirling, by Adam Bothwell bishop of Orkney ; but Throgmorton refused to assist at the coronation, and was, in a very little time after this transaction, recalled by queen Elizabeth. The lords, assembled at Hamilton, now entered into an association for effecting the queen's release ; and had they been unanimous, they might have saved that unhappy princess from destruction : but when Murray returned, and reassumed the regency, they endeavoured singly to make peace with him ; and he perceiving their disunion, compelled them to accept of such terms as he thought proper to propose. In his way through England, he was indulged with a pension from queen Elizabeth. When he visited his sovereign at the castle of Lochleven, far from comforting her under her affliction, he reviled her with the most injurious reproaches, and treated her so barbarously, that from thence forward she considered him as her mortal enemy. His regency being confirmed, in a parliament convoked by him at Edinburgh, he signed a warrant for the execution of Dalgleish, Powry, and two other servants of Bothwell, who had been tried and convicted of assisting in the king's murder. They solemnly protested before God and his angels, they had heard Bothwell declare that Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the murder ; and that the queen was entirely innocent.

Camden.

Keith.
Jebb.

Camden.

A. C. 1567.

The French king being informed of Mary's misfortune, was so incensed at her rebellious subjects, for such an outrage against the royal prerogative, that he sent over Pasquier to London, to concert measures with the queen for compelling the Scottish rebels to set their sovereign at liberty. Elizabeth declined using violent methods, on pretence that they would endanger the life of her dear cousin; but she proposed that the Scots should be entirely prohibited from trading with France and England, until their queen should be released. This was the only measure in which Elizabeth and the French king were likely to concur. The term of eight years since the treaty of Cateau being now expired, Sir Thomas Smith was sent over to Picardy, with Winter master of the ordnance for the sea-service, to demand the restitution of Calais, which they accordingly claimed by sound of trumpet, at one of the gates, in presence of a notary, and several witnesses. Then Smith proceeded to Paris, where, in conjunction with Sir Henry Norreys, the English resident at that court, he made the like demand of Charles, who appointed the chancellor de L'Hopital to signify the reasons which hindered him from restoring Calais. These arguments were answered, and refuted by Smith; and the affair produced a long dispute, which was not finished when the civil wars broke out in France: but the place was never restored. Mean while the emperor Maximilian sent the count of Stolberg into England, to renew the treaty for a marriage between his brother Charles the archduke, and queen Elizabeth, who had often expressed her approbation of such an alliance: but, after long debates touching the maintenance of Charles, his assuming the title of king, and the settlement of the succession, it was wholly broke off, on account of their differing in point of religion; and Charles espoused Mary, daughter to the duke of

The French king refuses to deliver Calais to the English, according to treaty.

of Bavaria. At the same time ambassadors arrived from John Basilowitz, emperor of Russia, with rich presents of furs to the queen, and assurances of friendship and protection to the English merchants, who should settle or trade in his dominions. Anthony Jenkinson, an Englishman, who had travelled through part of the Russian dominions, accompanied the ambassadors, with directions from the Czar to propose an offensive and defensive alliance with the queen of England against all the world. Though she civilly declined such a league, he indulged the Russia company with an exclusive trade to Archangel; and the English merchants in general with a monopoly for their cloth and other commodities throughout all his dominions.

A. C. 1567
Embassy
from John
Basilowitz
emperor of
Russia to
queen Eli-
Beth.

About this period, Sir Henry Sidney, the queen's lord lieutenant for Ireland, extinguished some dangerous commotions which had arisen in that country. Shan O'Neale had tyrannized over the inhabitants of Ulster, reduced Armagh to ashes, expelled Macguire from his paternal inheritance, ravaged the lands of Macguire and others, who were under the protection of the English, and openly rebelled against Elizabeth. But, upon his submission, she created him baron of Dungannon, and earl of Tyrone. Not satisfied with these honours, he assembled an army of his vassals, assumed the title of king of Ulster, and offered to hold the kingdom of Ireland under the sovereignty of Mary queen of Scotland. Randolph, a brave officer, being sent against him by the lieutenant, routed him with great slaughter at Derry, though the victor lost his life in the engagement. Shan fled to the bogs and fastnesses, while Sir Henry Sidney built some forts to straiten him in his quarters, and re-established O'Donnel, who had been driven from his country. But Sidney being called away to comprise a quarrel between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, Shan re-assembled a body of troops, and attacked

Rebellion in
Ireland by
Shan
O'Neale.

A. C. 1567. Dundalk, from whence he was repulsed by the gar-
rison. Then he carried off O'Donnell's wife, and
retired to Clandeboy, to solicit the assistance of the
Scottish Highlanders, who had formerly joined his
enemies, and been defeated by his forces. He had
even slain two brothers of the Highland chieftains,
who received him with seeming courtesy; but whether
they had determined to make away with him, or he
provoked them over his cups with brutal language,
touching the chastity of their mother, they slew him
with all his company. Though he left two legiti-
mate sons, his estate was confiscated by the Irish
parliament, and Tirlagh O'Neile was, by the queen's
permission, elected chief of the sept, by the appella-
tion of O'Neile. Nevertheless, as a check upon
this new chieftain, she received into favour Shan's
nephew Hugh baron of Dungannon, a young man
of a very intriguing genius. The disorders of Ul-
ster being thus appealed, the quarrel between the
earls of Ormond and Desmond, who had fought a
battle near Dromille, was partly quelled by the au-
thority of the lieutenant, who was afterwards oblig-
ed to surprize Desmond and his uncle near Kilmal-
loc, and send them prisoners to England.

Camden.

A. C. 1568.

Civil war in
France re-
newed.

By this time the kings of France and Spain seem-
ed to have engaged in a league to exterminate the
protestants from their dominions. The duke of
Alva entering the Low Countries, at the head of a
powerful army, committed unheard-of cruelties
upon those who professed the reformed religion.
The court of France levied six thousand Swiss, in
order to crush the Huguenots. The prince of Con-
dè and the admiral re-assembling some forces for
their own defence, attempted to surprize the king
at Meaux: but, failing in that enterprise, the prince
blocked up Paris; and in the neighbourhood of that
capital, engaged the constable, who was slain in the
action. The prince was afterwards joined by Cas-
mir count Palatine, with ten thousand horse and
foot:

foot: and La Noue, one of the chief of the Huguenots, made himself master of Orleans. A. C. 1568. Queen Elizabeth, looking upon her own safety as inseparably connected with the protestant interest, ordered Norreys, her ambassador, to intercede with Charles in behalf of the Huguenots; and to assure him that she would not tamely suffer them to be oppressed.

This insinuation, together with the succours they received from Germany, induced the French court to consent to a pacification; the terms of which, however, they had no intention to observe. Catherine de Medicis, the queen-mother, foreseeing a speedy rupture, endeavoured to alienate Elizabeth from the interests of the French protestants; and for that purpose proposed a marriage between the English queen and her son the duke of Anjou, who was then but seventeen years of age. While this was in agitation, Philip king of Spain took occasion to manifest his disgust to the English nation. Causes of dissension between Elizabeth and Philip of Spain. Man, who was Elizabeth's ambassador at Madrid, was forbid the court, and confined to a country village, for having dropped some disrespectful expressions concerning the pope and the Roman catholic religion; and Sir John Hawkins, who commanded a fleet of merchant-ships in the bay of Mexico, was attacked by the Spaniards, who slew a great number of his men, and took and plundered three of his vessels. The queen was not a little incensed at these outrages, though she found it convenient to suppress some part of her resentment. Her attention was turned upon events that still more nearly Camden. affected her interest.

Mary queen of Scotland having escaped from the castle of Lochleven, by the means of George Douglas Mary of Scotland escapes from her confinement. the governor's brother, repaired to Hamilton, where she found herself, in a few days, at the head of six thousand men, assembled by the earls of Huntley,

A. C. 1568. Sutherland, Errol, Montros, Crawford, Argyle, Cassils, Rothes, and Eglington, the lords Somerville, Yester, Livingston, Borthwick, Herries, Sanquhar, Ross, Boyd, Ogilvy, Oliphant, Drummond, Elphinston, Sinclair, Cathcart, Claude Hamilton, and a great number of bishops, abbots, lairds, and persons of distinction. These engaged in an association for the defence of her person, and the support of her royal authority: she issued a proclamation, declaring that the instrument she had signed at Lochleven was extorted from her by the fear of death; and the lords there assembled adjudged her resignation to be null and invalid, as the effect of compulsion. Murray was at that time within eight miles of Hamilton, holding a justice-court at Glasgow, attended by the earls of Morton, Marr, Glencairn, and the lord Sempil, and others of the council. He forthwith sent for a supply of five hundred men from Stirling, and was joined by the earl of Home, with six hundred men from the Merse and Lothian; so that he resolved to give battle, though his army did not exceed the number of four thousand. The queen sent John Beaton to England to solicit the assistance of Elizabeth; and he was ordered to proceed to the court of France on the same errand: but the queen of England, who did not relish her application to the French monarch, assured this envoy that she would assist his mistress; and, in her instructions to Leighton, whom she dispatched to Scotland with offers of her mediation, she directed him to tell Mary's rebellious subjects, that the whole power of England should be employed in her behalf. In the mean time the loyalists advised the queen to march towards Dumbarton, which was a strong fortress, where she could remain in safety, until all her faithful subjects should assemble in arms for her defence.

Mary is defeated at Langside by Murray and his confederates.

defence. In their rout, they found Murray advantageously posted at Langside; and, attempting to dislodge him, were defeated.

A. C. 1568,
Keith.
Jebb.

The queen fled with the utmost precipitation to the abbey of Dundrenan, near Kirkcudbright, in Galloway; and embarking with the lord Herries, and a train of sixteen persons, landed at Wirkington in Cumberland. From thence she was conducted to Cockermouth, and afterwards conveyed to the castle of Carlisle by Lowther, deputy-governor of that fortress.

She flies into England.

On her first arrival in England, she wrote a letter to Elizabeth, giving a detail of her misfortunes, intimating her confidence in her sister's princely affection and assistance; and requesting that she might be conducted immediately into her presence. Sir Francis Knolles was sent to comfort her with a verbal promise of assistance; but she declined seeing her, on pretence of her being charged with divers atrocious crimes, of which it would be necessary to acquit herself. From Carlisle, Mary sent the lord Herries with another letter, renewing her request of being admitted into Elizabeth's presence, that she might answer to the crimes laid to her charge. It was but reasonable, she said, that a princess so near to her in blood, should hear and relieve her in her distress; she therefore desired that Elizabeth would either assist her against her rebellious subjects, or allow her to solicit succour in some other country; observing it was unjust to detain her a prisoner in the castle of Carlisle, as she had voluntarily come into the kingdom, confiding in the affection of her majesty, so often expressed by messengers, letters, and remembrances. The council of England were not a little perplexed at this event. They foresaw that should Mary be allowed to retire, she would find refuge in France, and the Guises would revive her claim to the crown of England; the old alliance between France and Scotland would be re-

A. C. 1568. renewed; and the English faction in this last kingdom be wholly suppressed. On the other hand, her detention in England would be condemned all over Europe as an act of the most flagrant inhumanity and injustice: and perhaps excite the compassion of the English, so as to produce some dangerous commotion in favour of a princess whom the majority of them esteemed as the presumptive heir to the crown. Notwithstanding this apprehension, they determined to detain her as a prisoner, until she should renounce her present claim to the crown of England, and vindicate herself from the charge of being accessory to the murder of lord Darnly, who was a natural subject of England. This determination may be ascribed to the political maxims of Cecil, whose constant aim was to embroil all the neighbouring kingdoms; but in all probability it was influenced by the private passions of Elizabeth, who hated Mary as her rival in royalty, and her superior in beauty and other female accomplishments. She wanted nothing but a pretence for detaining this illustrious captive with some shadow of justice; and she seemed to be ashamed of founding her detention upon the accusation of rebellious subjects, against whose treason it was her duty to have protected her kinswoman. Besides, she had no right to exercise any jurisdiction over an independent sovereign, who was moreover intitled to all the rights of hospitality; and, by admitting the charge of notorious rebels against their mistresses, she would have created a precedent equally disgraceful and dangerous to regal authority. On these considerations, she tampered with Margaret countess of Lennox, Darnley's mother, who had been imprisoned on account of her son's marriage, and released after his decease. This lady, who entirely depended upon Elizabeth, was persuaded to present a petition to the queen, praying that Mary of Scotland

Mary is detained prisoner at Carlisle,

and is accused of her husband's murder.

and might be prosecuted for her husband's murder. A. D. 1558.
 The countess, afterwards being convinced of Mary's innocence, implored forgiveness of that princess, assuring her she had been deceived with false suggestions, by the express command of Elizabeth, and the persuasions of the lords of the privy-council. Keish.

The earl of Murray in the mean time punished the Hamiltons, and all who were concerned in the queen's defence, with the utmost rigour; he had spies among the pretended friends of queen Mary, who persuaded her to forbid all her loyal subjects to carry on hostilities in her behalf, and to rely entirely on the assistance of Elizabeth, who sent Mr. Middleton to summon the earl of Murray, either in person or by proxy, to appear in England, and shew cause for the cruel treatment to which he had subjected his own sovereign, and her kinswoman; otherwise she would assist her to the utmost of her power against all her enemies. Murray, who was perfectly well acquainted with the real sentiments of queen Elizabeth, caused a commission to be expedited under the great seal of Scotland, empowering himself, the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Lindsay, and the abbot of Dumfermling, to meet the English deputies, and explain the reasons which induced them to proceed in such a manner against Mary. To these commissioners, James Macgill, Henry Balmaves, and the celebrated George Buchanan, were joined as assistants. They were accompanied by the bishop of Murray, secretary Lidington, the lairds of Pittarrow, North-Berwick, and Cleish, Nicholas Elphinston, and John Wood secretary to the regent. They were met at York, in the beginning of October, by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffolk, and Sir Ralph Sadler, appointed commissioners by Elizabeth, to hear and examine all disputes between Mary and the regent. At the same time the Scottish queen sent thither John Lesley

Elizabeth appoints commissioners to examine the dispute between Mary and her rebellious subjects,

A.C. 1568. Lesley bishop of Ross, the lords Livingstone, Boyd, and Herries, Gavin Hamilton commendator of Kilwinning, with the lairds of Lochinvar, Kirling, Roslin, and Garntully, as her friends and commissioners, to promote an agreement, under the mediation of Elizabeth; for they did not at all expect that the queen of England intended to act the part of a judge. When they were undeceived in this particular, they entered a protest in the name of their sovereign, importing that though she had consented to her cousin's hearing and terminating in person or by commissioners, the differences between her and her rebellious subjects, she did not acknowledge herself subject to any judge upon earth, being a free princess, and holding her imperial crown of God alone. The English commissioners made a protest in their turn, for saving the superiority which England claimed over Scotland. Next day Mary's agents exhibited a paper, containing a detail of the rebellions which had been raised against her. This was answered by Murray, who alleged that the lords had taken arms to revenge the death of king Henry upon Bothwell; and that the queen, being weary of the toils of government, had voluntarily resigned the crown to her son, and appointed the earl of Murray regent of the kingdom during his minority. Mary's commissioners refuted these allegations, and requested that the queen of England would assist and support their mistress in the recovery of her crown, and the suppression of such rebellious attempts: they likewise presented an attested copy of the protestation made by the earls of Huntley and Argyle, charging Murray and Morton as the contrivers of the king's murder.

before
whom Mur-
ray accuses
his sove-
reign.

The duke of Norfolk, a nobleman of an amiable character, who had ever been zealous for Mary's succession to the crown of England, was so scandalized at this renunciation, and apprehensive of its being

being used to the prejudice of the Scottish queen, that he contrived an expedient for putting a stop at once to the proceedings. He contracted a friendship with the regent; and in a private conference, represented the disgrace and injury that would accrue to him and his nation, as well as to the young prince, from this accusation of his mother. He gave him to understand that queen Elizabeth would not determine either for or against the queen of Scots, whether she should be found innocent or guilty; and he advised him to demand, at their next meeting, whether or not the English commissioners had authority to pronounce a definitive sentence, in case of conviction. Murray, who began to fear, not only that he should fail in his endeavours to give an air of probability to his allegations, but also that Mary's agents would retort the guilt upon his own head, resolved to comply with the duke's advice; and next day, when he was called upon to produce his evidence against Mary, he desired to know whether they had power to pronounce the Scottish queen guilty, or not guilty; whether, in case of her conviction, she should be delivered into his hands, or detained in England; and whether or not queen Elizabeth would maintain the authority of the young king, and his own regency? When the commissioners answered they had no such power, but the queen's royal word was sufficient, Murray refused to proceed, until he should see the queen's hand and seal for the performance of what he required; and this demur produced a delay, during which the duke of Norfolk and the regent agreed that this last should not accuse queen Mary; that the duke should restore Murray to the queen's favour, and obtain her confirmation of his regency; and that these two new friends should labour jointly for the good of both nations. Elizabeth, without taking the least notice of Murray's demands, evoked

A. C. 1568.

Private agreement between the duke of Norfolk and the regent.

Camden.

Keith.

Melvil.

the

A. C. 1568. the whole affair to London, and constituted a new commission, from which the duke of Norfolk was excluded, because the Scottish deputies represented him as a favourer of Mary, who entertained thoughts of marrying that princess. She had been conveyed from Carlisle to Bolton in Lancashire: but this country being full of Roman catholics, who might raise a rebellion in her favour, she was now, at the request of her accusers, removed to the castle of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and committed to the charge of the earl of Shrewsbury. The duke of Norfolk had found means to make Mary acquainted with what had passed between him and Murray; and she communicated the transaction to one of her confidants, who was a spy employed by Morton, to whom it was immediately imparted. He forthwith discovered it to the earl of Leicester, who durst not conceal it from the queen; and she was incensed against Norfolk, who candidly owned the correspondence, and declared his zeal for the succession of young James to the throne of England; while Morton was exasperated against the regent for having taken such a step without his privity and concurrence.

Mary proceeds with the accusation.

Murray wanted to return to Scotland, on pretence of a scheme which he said the earl of Argyle had formed for surprising the castle of Stirling, in which the prince resided: but now the real cause of his backwardness to proceed in the accusation being discovered, he was importuned in such a manner by his own colleagues, who reproached him with his falling off, and so artfully cajoled with the English ministry, that he at length, with an appearance of reluctance, exhibited his charge, containing the pretended confessions of Dalglish, and those whom he had put to death as accessory to the king's murder; the queen's extorted resignation of the crown; the decrees of his own faction assembled in parliament,

ment, and some copies of letters and verses, without date or subscription, said to be written by the queen's own hand to Bothwell, and found in a box given by Sir James Balfour, governor of the castle of Edinburgh, to Bothwell's domestic Dalglish, upon whom it was seized, before he could convey it to his master. These letters and verses, produced in order to prove a criminal correspondence between the queen and Bothwell, even before the death of her former husband, were forged for the purpose by Murray and his confederates; and now reinforced by a paper called *The Detection*, written by Buchanan, to the eternal disgrace of that incomparable genius. It contained a most virulent accusation of the queen's conduct, founded upon false and malicious misrepresentations, and the pretended confession of some unhappy people who were executed as accessaries to the king's murder.

Elizabeth, although pleased with these calumnies, which stained the character of her rival, could not help despising and detesting the authors of such treachery and slander. She even wrote a letter to Mary, comforting her in her affliction, declaring she believed the accusation was false and malicious, and exhorting her to be patient under her gentle confinement, where she was nearer the crown of England, than she would have been in her own country. Notwithstanding this profession of friendship, she paid no regard to the remonstrances of Mary's commissioners, who desired, in her name, that she might be heard in person before the English nobility, and the ambassadors of foreign princes; in which case, she did not doubt of being able to clear her own innocence, and prove the guilt of her adversaries. Perceiving she had nothing to hope from the impartiality of Elizabeth, who treated her so cruelly, she inhibited her commissioners from proceeding farther in what related to the difference

- A. C. 1568. ference between her and her rebellious subjects of Scotland. The commission for hearing the cause was dissolved; but the queen of England did not think proper to pronounce any sentence. Before a stop was put to the proceedings, the bishop of Ross delivered to the council a message from his mistress to queen Elizabeth, importing, that should she be admitted to the presence of her good sister, as her adversaries had been, she would undertake not only to vindicate her own character from their aspersions, but even to prove that they themselves were the authors of that murder which they had laid to her charge.
- A. C. 1569. The accusers were not a little startled at this declaration; and lord Patrick Lindsay sent a person to give lord Herries the lie, and challenge him to single combat, should he charge him with the king's murder. Herries replied, that he did not charge Lindsay in particular; but the names of the guilty should be specified in proper time; and then, if Lindsay would undertake their defence, he (Herries) should be ready to accept his challenge. The bishop of Ross persisted in his proposal, and demanded a copy of the process and allegations produced against his mistress, that she might know how to frame her answers; but the council excused themselves from complying with these demands. M. de la Mothe Fenelon, the French ambassador, interposed in her behalf, and importuned Elizabeth and her ministers to grant Mary's request; but he was amused with evasive answers, and general professions of Elizabeth's good will towards her gentle sister.

Mary accuses the regent as the contriver of her husband's murder.

Lesley's Negotiations.

Melvil.

By this time Murray, through the mediation of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and secretary Lidington, was admitted again into the favour of the duke of Norfolk, who communicated his intention of marrying the queen of Scots, and effecting a match between young James and his only daughter Margaret.

garet. He likewise became bondsman to Elizabeth, for two thousand pounds lent to the regent, which he was afterwards obliged to pay. He made Mary acquainted with this new bond of friendship; and, as he had, in the first emotion of his resentment, engaged the earl of Westmoreland to cut off the regent in his return to Scotland, he now desired that nobleman to let him pass unmolested. In return for all this generosity, the perfidious Murray betrayed the correspondence to Elizabeth, who engaged in a verbal league with the traitor, for the defence of the young prince, and the maintenance of his own administration. She accommodated him with the loan of five thousand pounds, promised to supply him with three times the sum, and permitted him to retire into Scotland. Before his departure from London, the duke de Chatele-
raud arrived in that city from France, where he had resided during the late troubles in his own country, and demanded of the English court that Murray should be degraded from the regency, on account of his spurious birth, and ambitious practices. He told Elizabeth, that should the regency be conferred upon him, to whom it of right belonged, according to the custom of the country, he would soon put an end to the civil war, and restore his sovereign, without bloodshed. This proposal was far from being agreeable to the queen of England, who declared she would oppose him by force of arms, should he pretend to any share in the administration, or refuse to acknowledge the young prince's authority. She would not even allow him to see his captive mistress at Tutbury, but caused him to be detained at York, until he was released, at the instances of Mary and the French ambassador.¹¹⁰ When he returned to Scotland with the lord Herries, and the commendator of Kilwinning, he raised some forces, by virtue of a commission from
his

Murray be-
trays the
duke of
Norfolk;

Rymer.

returns into
his own
country,

A. C. 1569.

and impri-
sons the
duke of
Chatele-
naud.

his sovereign: but in a conference held at Edinburgh, with Murray and his partisans, touching a pacification, he was arrested, and, with the lord Herries, committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh.

During these transactions the court of France, notwithstanding the late accommodation with the Huguenots, formed the design of surprising the prince of Condé in his own house; but he received intimation of the scheme, and escaped to Rochelle. Then the king forbade the exercise of the protestant religion, and banished all the ministers who preached up that doctrine. The persecution raged at the same time in the Low Countries; and the prince of Orange was obliged to take refuge among the French Huguenots, whom Elizabeth succoured with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns, and a fine train of artillery. A great number of Flemish families removed to England, and settling under the queen's protection, in different parts of the kingdom, contributed greatly to the improvement of commerce. Towards the latter end of the last year some Biscayan vessels being taken by French pirates, who carried them into English harbours, Elizabeth understanding that there was a considerable sum of money on board, for the use of the duke of Alva, who was the great enemy of the protestants in the Low Countries, seized it for her own purposes, by way of loan, and gave security to the Spanish ambassador for the payment. The duke of Alva demanding it in a peremptory manner, and receiving nothing but evasive answers, caused all the English merchants in the Netherlands to be arrested, and seized upon their effects. Elizabeth resorted this act of hostility upon the Flemings in England, and published a proclamation on this subject, which was answered by the Spanish ambassador, who likewise circulated scandalous libels, which

Crawford.
Camden.Rupture
between
Philip and
Elizabeth.

asperging the queen's reputation. She ordered him to be put under a guard for two days, and complained of his insolence to Philip; from whom, however, she received no satisfaction. This quarrel having interrupted all commerce between England and the Low Countries, the English merchants sent their commodities to Hamburgh; and the duke of Alva not only forbade all communication between the Flemings and Elizabeth's subjects, but appointed spies to inform him of whatever should be transacted contrary to this prohibition. Among these was an English papist called Story, who had been a violent persecutor in the reign of Mary, and taken refuge in the Low Countries, at Elizabeth's accession. He was now extremely active against his countrymen; till at length being decoyed on board of a vessel, said to be loaded with contraband goods, he was brought over to England, and afterwards executed for treason. Mean while the English ships in Spain were confiscated, and the crews either confined in the inquisition, or sent to the galleys. Philip prohibited the importation of oil, allom, sugar, and aromatics; from his dominions into England; and tampered with the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Ormond to excite domestic disturbances: but they rejected his proposals, and discovered his designs to their sovereign, who granted letters of marque against the subjects of Philip, until such a number of prizes were taken, that she found it necessary to recal the commissioners, rather than involve herself in a war for which she was not provided:

At this period, a storm was brewed against Cecil; by the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Northampton, and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke. They resented his great influence in the council; and, on the supposition that his design was to interrupt the advantageous commerce with the Low

Scheme against Cecil.

A. C. 1569. Countries, and engage the nation in an expensive war with a powerful enemy, they resolved to call him to account for his evil administration, and the falsehoods by which they affirmed he had misled her majesty. They were even joined by the earl of Leicester, who complained to the queen of Cecil's management; but he met with a very cold reception from Elizabeth, who espoused the cause of Cecil, because he had always flattered her private animosity against the queen of Scotland. The earl of Murray, in his return to Scotland, had sent Sir Robert Melvil to Mary, with protestations of the most dutiful regard, and a proposal of marriage between her and the duke of Norfolk, which could not but be agreeable to queen Elizabeth, as well as to her own subjects, and be attended with her immediate restoration. To this message he received a favourable answer from his mistress, who confided in his sincerity, which had been vouched by Norfolk; and she not only sent orders to Chateleraud, Argyle, and Huntley, to dismiss the forces they had raised against the regent; but also furnished lord Herries with instructions to accommodate matters with him in a private treaty. Elizabeth, with whom Murray corresponded, had begun a treaty for the release and restoration of Mary, with monsieur de Fenelon and the bishop of Ross, who acted as the ambassador of the captive princess. This prelate presented articles to the council, which were deemed not unreasonable, though some few alterations were made. To these Mary took no exceptions; but she desired time to procure the approbation of the French king, without which her friends in Scotland would not agree to the treaty. In this interval, her English partisans, at the head of whom were the earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke, sent Mr. Candish to Mary, with a letter recommending Norfolk to her as an husband,

and assuring her of their attachment and assistance, A. C. 1559.
touching her succession to the crown of England.
When she accepted of their recommendation in
good part, they secured the approbation of the earls
of Derby, Suffex, Northumberland, Westmoreland,
and Cumberland: the duke of Norfolk prosecuted his
suit with Mary by letters, messages, and tokens; the
French ambassador obtained the consent of his ma-
ster, of the duke and dutchess, and cardinal of
Lorraine; and Mary signed the contract, which was
deposited in the hands of monsieur de Fenelon.

Lesley's ne-
gotiat. ex
Anderson.

Mean while the public treaty between Elizabeth
and the Scottish queen was interrupted by the mu-
tual jealousy and distrust of the parties. Mary sus-
pected Elizabeth of a design to secure the person
of her son, together with some of the fortresses in
Scotland. Her courtiers had been intercepted,
and her letters seized upon the English border,
while those of her adversaries passed to and fro un-
molested. On the other hand, the queen of Eng-
land dreaded Mary's, intriguing with the kings of
France and Spain, in consequence of the league of
Bayonne, formed for the destruction of the protes-
tant religion. She apprehended a double invasion
from France and Flanders; and pretended to have
received intimation that Mary had ceded her preten-
sions to the crown of England, in favour of the duke
of Anjou, whom she proposed to marry. The
Scottish queen not only denied this cession and pur-
posed alliance, but even procured a declaration
from the French king, the queen-mother, the duke
of Anjou, and the cardinal of Lorraine, importing
that no such cession had ever been made or intend-
ed. Then the French ambassador Fenelon, and
the bishop of Ross, insisting upon the performance
of Elizabeth's promise to release and restore queen
Mary, she delayed giving her final answer, until
she should have considered this declaration; and

Elizabeth is
backward
in the nego-
tiation for a
treaty with
Mary.

A. C. 1569. afterwards craved longer respite, until she could hear from the earl of Murray. She accordingly received letters from that nobleman, intimating that the estates of Scotland would not consent to their queen's restoration upon any terms whatsoever; and making her acquainted with the progress of the projected match between Mary and the duke of Norfolk.

Elizabeth was equally chagrined and perplexed at this intelligence. She wished that Mary was removed from her dominions, where she acquired new interest every day; and she could not bear the thoughts of releasing a princess, who might join her enemies and endanger her royalty. Leicester, who attended the queen in her progress, pretended to be taken ill at Titchfield; and, when the queen visited him in his apartment, he in consequence of the measures he had taken with his confederates, disclosed to her the whole design of the marriage. On all other emergencies, she could dissemble her sentiments; but, when Mary was the subject of the discourse, she could not command her temper. Even in presence of foreign ambassadors, her passion sometimes vented itself in very indecent terms. On this occasion she stormed with extraordinary violence. Arundel and Pembroke had retired from court; but Norfolk was loaded with reproach, for presuming to treat of such an alliance without her knowledge, and ordered to desist from the pursuit, on pain of her highest displeasure. He retired abruptly from the court at Southampton to London, where, being apprised of the queen's menaces, he repaired to his house of Kenninghall in Norfolk. He was so much beloved in that country, that he could have assembled a considerable army in his own defence: but he piqued himself upon his loyalty, and quietly accompanied a lieutenant of the band of pensioners, who was sent to bring him
up

up to London. He was confined at Burnham near Windsor, where he underwent divers examinations touching the marriage: his coffers were searched, his papers seized, and then the queen committed him prisoner to the Tower of London. Leicester, after an examination, obtained his pardon. Pembroke, Arundel, and Lumley, were confined to their houses; Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and Robert Ridolphi, a Florentine merchant, were imprisoned; the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland made their submission to the earl of Sussex, lieutenant of the northern Marches. All these noblemen, as well as the bishop of Ross, agreed in declaring that the marriage had been proposed by the earl of Murray; and that neither the queen of Scots nor they would have concluded the match without the knowledge and consent of Elizabeth.

A. C. 1569.

Duke of Norfolk is committed to the Tower.

Several other noblemen are confined.

Lesley. Melvil. Fenelon.

The queen did not think proper to declare all she knew relating to this confederacy: but hearing that a design was formed for the escape of Mary from Winkfield, she issued orders for removing that princess to Tutbury, where she was close confined, under the joint charge of the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon; notwithstanding the remonstrance of the bishop of Ross, who represented the injustice of putting the person of his mistress in the hands of the earl of Huntingdon, he, as a pretender to the succession, having an interest in her death. The scheme for her escape was projected by Leonard Dacres, uncle to the lord Dacres of Gilleland, who undertook to conduct her safely into Scotland. But, when she communicated this design to the duke of Norfolk, he opposed it with all his influence, fearing that should she escape by means of the papists, they would dissuade her from marrying him, who was a protestant, and promote a match between

her

A. C. 1569.

Scheme of
an insurrec-
tion in Eng-
land to be
supported by
the duke of
Alva.

Lesley's ne-
gotiations.

her and don John of Austria, which had been pro-
posed by Philip king of Spain. This plot miscar-
rying, Mary solicited the assistance of the duke of
Alva towards her deliverance: and that nobleman
promised to supply her with a body of forces, and a
sum of money, to support any insurrection that
should be raised in her favour. But this expedient
was declined by her English friends, who declared,
that whatever inclination they had to release her
from captivity, and settle her succession to the
crown, they would never assist the Spaniards in
making a conquest of their country. Nevertheless,
the duke of Alva assembled a body of forces, to be
transported to England, in case of any disturbance.
La Mothe, governor of Dunkirk, was sent to sound
the English harbours, in the disguise of a sailor;
and the marquis of Cetona was dispatched to Lon-
don, in the character of a public minister, on pre-
tence of demanding the money which Elizabeth
had intercepted, and compromising the differences
between the two nations; though his real errand
was to watch the progress of the expected rebel-
lion, and take the command of the Spanish forces
on their arrival from the Netherlands.

The earls of
Northum-
berland and
Westmore-
land excite
a rebellion,

The malcontents of the North were certainly
ripe for revolt. The earl of Northumberland, a
bigotted Roman catholic, had been exasperated
by the queen's seizing a copper mine which was
found on his estate. He and Westmoreland had
been concerned in the scheme of Norfolk's mar-
riage with the queen of Scots; and though they
had excused themselves in such a manner as to sa-
tisfy the earl of Suffolk, they were still suspected by
Elizabeth, who had received some dark hints of an
intended rebellion. She sent an herald to summon
the two earls to appear at court, on pain of being
deemed rebels; but, before they received this cita-
tion, the earl of Northumberland was beset in his
house

house by some gentlemen of the country, who resolved to signalize their loyalty on this occasion. He found means, however, to make his escape to Brancepath, the seat of the earl of Westmoreland, where the Roman catholics flocked to them in great numbers, and pressed them to take arms in their own defence. Thus stimulated, they published a proclamation, declaring their design was to re-establish the catholic religion: but this was soon followed by another manifesto, in which they pretended their motive for taking arms was to settle the succession of the crown, and prevent the destruction of the antient nobility. They dispatched an officer to Brussels, to implore the assistance of the duke of Alva; but they had engaged in the rebellion so precipitately, that he had not provided vessels for transporting his troops, and he listened to their solicitations with great coldness and indifference. In the mean time, the insurgents entering Durham, caused the Bible and book of Common Prayer to be torn in public, a crucifix to be erected in the cathedral, and mass to be solemnly celebrated. They proposed to seize York and Newcastle; but were prevented by the vigilance of the earl of Suffex. Their numbers daily increasing, they detached five hundred horse to release the queen of Scots; but, before their arrival, she was removed to Coventry. Then they reduced Bernard-castle, and fortified Hartlepool. Their army now amounting to eighteen thousand men, they made excursions to the gates of York, in which the earl of Suffex, the lord Hunsdon, and the marshal of Berwick, were shut up with five thousand men, who could not pretend to keep the field against such numbers: but, as they were destitute of money, they neither could prosecute their scheme of marching to London, nor keep their forces together. A considerable deser-

4.C. 1569. tion ensued among their troops; notwithstanding which, they made a shift to maintain their ground, until Suffex was reinforced with a strong body of forces raised by Sir George Bowes in the palatinate of Durham; and the earl of Warwick, with the lord admiral Clinton, approached at the head of another army, levied in the midland counties. Then the rebels being intimidated, retired to Hexham, and from thence to Naworth in Cumberland, where they dispersed. The two chiefs, with the principal gentlemen, and five hundred horse, took refuge in Scotland, where Northumberland was apprehended by the regent, and sent prisoner to the castle of Lochleven; but the earl of Westmoreland escaped to Flanders.

which is
crushed by
the earl of
Warwick.

Styke.
Camden.
Fenelon.

The insurrection being thus suppressed, Elizabeth affected to laugh at it as a ridiculous enterprise, while the earl of Suffex, and Sir George Bowes, caused a great number of the insurgents to be tried by martial law, and hanged in different places. Leonard Dacres had raised three thousand men, on pretence of assisting the government: but he privately encouraged the rebels with a promise of joining them, after he should have cut off the lord Scroop, warden of the western Marches, and the bishop of Carlisle. Finding himself, however, unequal to this enterprise, he surprised the castles of Greystoke, Naworth, and other houses belonging to the Dacres family, as his right of inheritance, though they were in effect the property of his two nieces, contracted to the sons of the duke of Norfolk their father-in-law. As he had now pulled off the masque, and appeared a declared rebel, the lord Hunilton marched against him with the garrison-troops of Berwick; and Leonard meeting him at the little river Gelt, was defeated after a very obstinate engagement. He retired to the
nearest

Insurrection
by Leonard
Dacres.

nearest part of Scotland, from whence he was conveyed to Holland, and ended his days miserably at Louvain.

In the course of the war that still raged between the French ministry and the Huguenots, the prince of Condé was slain in the battle of Jarnac; and the admiral receiving a reinforcement of Germans under count Mansfeldt, engaged the king's troops at Montcontour, where he was defeated. Then he demanded succours of Elizabeth, who lent him some money, on the jewels of the queen of Navarre, and permitted a company of English gentlemen to serve as volunteers in his army: but notwithstanding all his efforts, the king made himself master of St. Jean d'Angely; with the conquest of which the campaign ended. In the Low Countries, the duke of Alva established the inquisition, and seized, in behalf of the king, all the privileges of the towns, universities, and provinces. He laid grievous impositions on the people: those who presumed to complain were severely chastised: in a word, the provinces were treated as a conquered country, and the subjects driven to despair.

Queen Elizabeth had engaged in a treaty with the regent of Scotland, obliging herself to deliver Mary into his hands, on condition of his surrendering some of the Scottish fortresses, and the person of the young prince, to the queen of England: but the execution of this treaty, was prevented by the northern insurrection. Murray having seized the person of Northumberland, sent Sir Nicholas Elphinston to London, to propose that queen Mary should be exchanged for this nobleman, and some Scottish hostages as a security for Murray's adhering to the interest of England, in case of a war between France and Elizabeth. This scheme being vigorously opposed by the bishop of Ross, Murray accused him of having maintained intelligence with the

Affairs of
France and
the Low-
Countries.

Mazarin.

Grotius.

A. C. 1570.

A.C. 1570. rebels; and he was committed prisoner to London-
 Fencelon. house, where he remained four months in custody
 of the bishop. The proposal of Murray was de-
 bated in council, and all the members being ene-
 mies to the Scottish queen, it was favourably re-
 ceived; but the effect of their deliberation was pre-
 vented by the death of the regent, who, in passing
 through Linlithgow, was shot by James Hamilton
 Crawford. of Bothwellhaugh, who had been forfeited after the
 battle of Lang-side. The estate of his wife, who
 was an heiress, Murray gave away to one of his
 favourites; and the officers who took possession act-
 ed with such inhumanity as deprived the unhappy
 Buchanan. woman of her senses. The husband was so exas-
 perated against the regent, on account of this me-
 lancholy event, that he vowed revenge, posted him-
 self at a window, before which he knew Murray
 would pass, shot him in the belly, took horse, and
 escaped into France. Elizabeth was transported to
 an excess of grief, when she received the tidings of
 Death of Murray, re-
 gent of Scotland. Murray's death. She shut herself up in her cham-
 ber, weeping and lamenting that she had lost the
 most serviceable friend she had in the world.

Montluet ambassador-extraordinary from France,
 sent over to press the conclusion of the treaty for
 the restoration of the Scottish queen; having an au-
 dience at this juncture, the queen complained of Ma-
 ry's practices with the earl of Northumberland; said
 she was not obliged to give an account of her actions
 to any person upon earth; that the queen of Scots
 should be tenderly treated; and with respect to her be-
 ing set at liberty, she (Elizabeth) would signify her re-
 solution to the French king by her own ambassa-
 dors. Immediately after Murray's death, Thomas
 Carr of Fernherst, and Walter Scot of Buccleugh,
 staunch adherents to Mary, assembled a number of
 borderers, and joining the English rebels, laid waste
 the

Carr of Fern-
 herst, and
 Scot of Buc-
 cleugh,
 make an in-
 terruption into
 England.

The frontiers with fire and sword. Elizabeth, who A. C. 1570 would let slip no opportunity of maintaining the civil war in Scotland, dispatched Thomas Randolph with complaints of this outrage to the assembled states of Scotland, and with intimation that if they could not suppress those disturbers of the peace, on account of the disorders of their kingdom, she would send forces to chastise the offenders. In the mean time, she ordered the earl of Suffex to raise an army, and invade Scotland, on pretence of punishing Carr and Scot, though her real design was to foment the troubles of Scotland. The laird of Grange, who commanded in the castle of Edinburgh, had set at liberty the duke of Chateleraud, lord Herries, and others of the queen's party, who had been confined by Murray in that fortress; and the chiefs of the two factions engaged in a negotiation, on pretence of re-establishing the peace of the kingdom; though nothing was farther from their thoughts than a coalition for the good of their country. Mary's partisans expected assistance from the king of France, and the duke of Alva; and the other party, headed by Morton, depended upon the protection of Elizabeth. When Huntley and Argyle heard of her preparations, they endeavoured to divert her from her purpose, by demanding a truce, which she refused.

In the month of April, the earl of Suffex, with the lord Hunsdon, and Drury marshal of Berwick, entered Scotland at the head of an army, ravaged the lands of Fernherst and Buccleugh, burned about three hundred houses, and fifty castles; and garrisoned Home and Fastcastle, belonging to lord Home, who had hitherto observed a kind of neutrality. The estates of Scotland assembling in the beginning of May, deputed Robert Pitcairn to conciliate the favour of Elizabeth, and assure her they were disposed to elect such a regent as should be agree.

The earl of Suffex invades Scotland.

A. C. 1570. agreeable to her inclination. This assembly, however, was composed of Mary's enemies. Those who adhered to that unfortunate princess, convened in the West, and attacked the castle of Glasgow, that it might not serve as a retreat or fortress to the earl of Lennox, who was expected from England, where he had for some time resided. The place was vigorously defended by the friends of that earl, until Sussex sent Drury to its relief. The besiegers retiring at his approach, he joined a party of the Scots who were averse to Mary, ravaged the lands of the Hamiltons, and took the castle of that name, plundering and burning the adjacent country. During these transactions, Pitcairn returned with Elizabeth's answer to the estates, proposing a conference for an accommodation between the two parties; in which case she offered herself as mediatrix; and she desired they would postpone the election of regent, until they should see the success of that expedient: but, as the nation could not be governed without a chief, they chose the earl of Lennox lieutenant or interex; and he was afterwards confirmed regent, with the approbation of Elizabeth, who knew he would not venture to act contrary to her inclination, while his wife remained as an hostage in England. The duke of Alva, by order of Philip, sent a supply of arms and ammunition to the duke of Chateleraud, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, who acted as Mary's lieutenants in Scotland; so that they were enabled to take the field, and Huntley fortified the castle of Brechin, which, however, was soon reduced by the regent. They at this juncture dispatched lord Seaton, as their queen's ambassador, to the duke of Alva, whom they solicited for further assistance in troops and money; and he amused them with fair promises, while a truce was concluded in Scotland, at the desire of Elizabeth.

The earl of Lennox is chosen regent of the kingdom.

The

The bishop of Ross, having recovered his liberty, still laboured for the release of his sovereign; and the French and Spanish monarchs ordered their ambassadors to join him in his remonstrances to the court of England. Elizabeth's hatred to the queen of Scots was now become habitual: she imputed all the dangers and disquiets she had undergone since her accession to the throne, to the ill offices of Mary and her adherents; and she was in particular irritated by the conduct of pope Pius V. who, without any previous admonition or citation, issued a private bull against her and her heretical adherents, excommunicating herself, absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and denouncing an anathema against all who should yield her obedience. This bull was fixed on the gate of the bishop's palace in London, by one Felton, who being detected and apprehended, gloried in the fact, and was hanged for his officiousness. The same punishment was inflicted upon John Throgmorton, and two other persons, who formed a scheme to set the duke of Norfolk at liberty, by assembling forces at Hurleston fair. That nobleman owning he had been guilty of indiscretion, and giving bond and security that he would proceed no farther in the marriage between him and Mary, without his queen's consent, was released from the Tower, and permitted to reside in his own house, under the eye of Sir Humphrey Nevil. About the same time Thomas and Edward Stanley, sons to the earl of Derby, together with Thomas Gerard, Rollston, Hall, and other natives of Derbyshire, contrived a scheme for delivering the queen of Scots; but this being discovered by Rollston's son, who was one of the band of pensioners, the conspirators were imprisoned before they could execute their resolution.

Conspiracy
in England
for the de-
liverance of
the Scottish
queen.

Notwithstanding these provocations, Elizabeth consented to the renewal of the treaty for the Scot-
tish

A. C. 1570. tish queen's release and restoration: but the true motive of this condescension was her apprehension from France, where a peace was likely to ensue between the king and the Huguenots. In that case, she knew Charles would be more at liberty to take effectual measures for the assistance of the captive queen: she knew he was well disposed towards that princess; and, in order to amuse him, she consented to a renewal of the negotiation, tho' she was determined against setting Mary at liberty. She affected great good humour and affection for her kinswoman, favoured the bishop of Ross with a most gracious reception, and sent by him certain proposals to his mistress, who forthwith dispatched the lord Livingston to communicate them to her friends in Scotland. That nobleman, after having been detained twenty days at Alnwick by the earl of Suffex, who had returned from his Scottish expedition, at length found the queen's lieutenants, with some other noblemen of her party, at Strath-tay in Athol, where they considered the articles, and appointed deputies to assist at the treaty in London. Mean while Elizabeth pretending to have received intimation that a body of troops was ready to embark in France for Scotland, she ordered admiral Clinton to put to sea with a squadron of ships of war, and the earl of Suffex to re-enter Scotland, where he ravaged Annandale with fire and sword, until the queen's lieutenants, Chateleraud, Huntley, and Argyle, obliged themselves by bond to abstain from all acts of hostility against the English: then he returned to England, and was appointed one of the queen's privy-council. Fenelon assuring Elizabeth that the report of the French armament was entirely without foundation, she revoked her order to the admiral, received with uncommon civility M. de Joigny, whom the French king had sent over to press the conclusion of the treaty, and de-

Progress of
the treaty
for the re-
lease of
Mary.

Camden.

Fenelon.

declared her resolution to restore her dear cousin. A. C. 1576.
 Nevertheless, when she heard the peace between Charles and the Huguenots was concluded, and that some of the articles were kept secret, she sent Sir Francis Walsingham to the French court, on pretence of assuring the king of her good will towards Mary; but he had instructions to learn the tenour of those private articles; and, if possible, to discover the real intention of Charles with regard to the queen of Scotland. At the same time she sent Sir Henry Cobham to Brussels, with compliments to Anne of Austria, daughter to the emperor, who arrived in the Low Countries in her way to Spain, as a wife to Philip; and Howard, with a squadron of ships, escorted this princess through the English channel. Cobham proceeded to the court of the emperor, to make him acquainted with the affairs of Scotland, the differences between England and the Low Countries, to obtain his protection for the English merchants settled at Hamburg, and endeavour to renew the negotiation for a match between Elizabeth and his brother Charles; though she certainly had no intention to conclude such an alliance.

The ambassadors of Mary, France, and Spain, continuing still to importune her on the score of the treaty, she appointed Cecil, and Sir Walter Mildmay chancellor of the exchequer, her commissioners to treat with the queen of Scots; and they accordingly set out for Chatteſworth, where that princess was confined. Walsingham returning from France immediately after their departure, assured her that the French king was warmly attached to the interest of Mary; and he extolled the capacity of Charles in such a manner, that Elizabeth being afraid of embroiling herself with such an antagonist, dispatched an express to Cecil, with orders to proceed in earnest on the treaty. The minister thus instructed,
offer-

A. C. 1570.

Proposals
offered to
the queen of
Scotland.

offered the following propositions for effecting a lasting peace between the two kingdoms: That the treaty of Edinburgh should be ratified: That Mary should renounce her claim to the crown of England, during the life of queen Elizabeth, and her heirs lawfully begotten: That she should not enter into any confederacy against England, nor permit foreign forces to land in Scotland, nor maintain correspondence with the English or Irish, but with the knowledge of Elizabeth: That she should deliver up the English fugitives who had taken refuge in Scotland, and repair the damage done to the English frontier: That she should punish the murderers of her husband and the earl of Murray, and send her son to be educated in England: That she should not marry an Englishman, without the consent of Elizabeth, nor any other person, except such as should be approved by the estates of Scotland: That her subjects should not cross the sea into Ireland, without permission from the queen of England: That this treaty should be signed by Mary and her delegates: That, for the ratification of the articles, six hostages, to be named by Elizabeth, should be sent into England: That Mary, by engaging in any attempt against the queen of England, should forfeit all title to the succession of the crown: That Hume-castle and Fast-castle should remain three years in possession of the English, and some other fort in Galloway or Cantyre be delivered up to Elizabeth, for preventing the Scots from infesting Ireland: and, lastly, That the estates of Scotland should ratify these articles by act of parliament. Queen Mary referred Cecil and Mildmay for an answer to the bishop of Ross, her ambassador, the bishop of Galloway, who was uncle to the earl of Huntley, and William lord Levingston, delegates from her lieutenants in Scotland. These agreed to some of the articles, but refused to renounce

nounce the ancient league with France, because the queen would lose her dowry, and the Scottish nation forfeit the valuable privileges they enjoyed in that kingdom. They promised that no foreign troops should be admitted into Scotland, except in case of a rebellion, which could not be suppressed by the domestic forces of the nation. That the queen of Scots should not maintain any correspondence with the subjects of England to the prejudice of Elizabeth, provided this last would enter into the same engagement with respect to the subjects of Mary. They said they could not deliver the prince to Elizabeth, because they were not masters of his person. That the demand with respect to their queen's marriage was altogether unreasonable, considering she was an independent princess. That the Scots should not molest Ireland, provided the Irish were prohibited from making descents on Scotland. That any hostages required should be given, except the duke of Chateleraud, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Athol. That Mary should forfeit her title to the crown of England, according to the proposal on that subject, provided queen Elizabeth should be restrained by the same penalty from attempting aught to the prejudice of the Scottish queen: but they absolutely insisted on Elizabeth's restoring Hume-castle, and Fast-castle to the proprietor, and refused to deliver any fortress either in Galloway or Cantyre into the hands of a foreigner. After these articles had been debated twenty days successively, the English commissioners returned, and made such a report to Elizabeth, that she declared herself perfectly well satisfied with the answers of the Scottish queen; and said she did not doubt that the only difference remaining would be removed at the arrival of the commissioners from the regent of Scotland, with-

Candell.

Lesley.

A. C. 1570. out whose consent the young prince could not be conveyed to England.

In the mean time the proposals and answers were by Mary communicated to the kings of France and Spain, with intimation, that she should be obliged to submit to the conditions, unless they would send immediate succour to her friends in Scotland. But all she reaped from this remonstrance was their intercession with Elizabeth, whom they pressed by letters and embassies to hasten the conclusion of the treaty. Charles of France had never heartily engaged in the interests of Mary, and at present his whole attention was employed in lulling the Huguenots into a false security by an insidious peace. And the duke of Alva saw himself on the brink of a severe war, maintained by the prince of Orange, who had raised an army in Germany to join the malcontents of the Netherlands. Mary queen of Scots being seized with a dangerous distemper, Elizabeth sent two eminent physicians to attend her, and, upon her recovery, presented her with a ring, as a token of her friendship renewed; but, in fact, she had no intention to relieve that unfortunate princess. The commissioners appointed by Lennox and his faction arriving in London, refused to give up the prince on any conditions; and desired the treaty might be laid aside. Elizabeth was not only resolved against releasing her rival, but also averse to the son's being educated in England, where his presence might strengthen his mother's interest; and Lennox and his confederates now acted by her particular direction.

Lesley.

Elizabeth
presents
Mary with
a ring.

A. C. 1571. When the Scottish commissioners arrived, with Morton at their head, the conferences were opened in presence of the lord keeper, the lord chamberlain, the lord admiral Clinton; the earls of Leicester and Suffex, Cecil lately created lord Burleigh, Sir James Crofts, Knolles, Mildmay, and Sir Thomas Smith,

now

now appointed secretary of state in the room of Cecil. These, in the name of their sovereign, demanded that the duke of Chateleraud, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, the lords Hume and Herries, should be detained three years as hostages in England, and the castles of Dumbarton and Hume be delivered for the like cause, to be kept as a security for the performance of articles. The bishop of Ross and his colleagues rejected these demands, alledging that a compliance with them would rob their mistress of her best friends and places of security. The lord-keeper told them, in a contemptuous manner, that their whole kingdom, though delivered up, would not be a sufficient security; and declared, that if his advice might be followed, the queen should not release Mary upon any condition whatsoever. The bishop observed, that if queen Elizabeth was of the same opinion, it would be needless to proceed in the treaty, and desired to know her resolution in that particular. The English deputies promised to consult her majesty on the subject; and in the mean time, having conferred with Morton and his associates, declared at their next meeting, that the commissioners from Lennox refused to treat about the delivery of the prince, or the restoration of his mother, alledging that their commission did not extend so far; but that Morton would return to Scotland, in order to procure full powers from the parliament of that kingdom. The bishop of Ross could not help recapitulating the particulars of Elizabeth's evasive conduct and insincerity, since the beginning of this dispute; and then declared he and his followers had no power to agree to any further delay. The English commissioners insisted upon having the concurrence of the whole Scottish nation for their security. The conferences were broke up: the bishop of Ross was ordered to withdraw from London; but his mistress

A. C. 1574.

The negotiation proves ineffectual.

Camden.

Lefley.

A. C. 1571. trefs commanded him to remain in that city, as her ambassador and agent.

Proposal of marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou;

After the miscarriage of this negotiation, Catherine de Medicis, queen mother of France, proposed a match between her second son Henry, duke of Anjou, and queen Elizabeth, who expressed no aversion to the alliance. She agreed to bestow upon him a matrimonial crown, with a share in the administration of public affairs; but she would not consent to his hearing mass even in private; and this difference was the pretext for breaking off the treaty: but indeed there was no sincerity on either side. The queen mother of France wanted to divert Elizabeth from a rumoured match between her and the king of Navarre, and to create a false confidence in the chiefs of the Huguenots, whom she devoted to destruction; while, on the other hand, Elizabeth's aim was to amuse the king of France with a negotiation, which would prevent him from sending succours to Mary's friends in Scotland. After this treaty was laid aside, Francis duke of Alençon, younger brother to Henry of Anjou, was proposed as a husband to the queen of England; but the same difficulties about religion recurred: Elizabeth objected to his youth; and declared she would not engage in any contract of marriage before she should have seen the person proposed for her husband. The plague, which had raged two years in London, being now abated, the queen made a public entry into that capital; and visiting the structure which Sir Thomas Gresham had raised for the convenience of merchants, it was denominated the Royal Exchange, by sound of trumpet.

Fenelon.

Camden.

In the beginning of February *, the lord Buckhurst

* On the seventeenth day of February, Hereford, was moved from the place where it stood, and continued in motion from Saturday till Monday, when

hurst was sent to congratulate Charles IX. of France, on his marriage with Elizabeth of Austria, daughter to the emperor Maximilian; and a new parliament was summoned to meet on the second of April. The first law enacted was levelled at those who should attempt any thing against the queen, or question her right to the crown, or call her heretic, schismatic, infidel, or usurper, either by word or writing, or maintain during her life, that any person was or ought to be her successor, except the natural issue of her body. Another law denounced the pains of high-treason against those who should obtain, publish, or execute, any papal bull or writing, or reconcile any person to the church of Rome; it likewise decreed the penalties of a pemunire against the aiders and abettors of such offenders, and those who should introduce into the kingdom, or receive agnus dei, crosses, pictures, beads, or any thing hallowed by the bishop of Rome; and all those who should conceal such bulls and offenders were pronounced guilty of misprision of treason. By a third statute, all natives and denizons of the realm departing the kingdom, and not returning within six months of the proclamation, were subjected to forfeiture of personal or real estate, to be restored however on their submission; and it annulled all fraudulent deeds and conveyances, executed in order to prevent the queen's enjoying the benefit of their confiscation. The attainders of the earl of Westmoreland and fifty-seven other persons, concerned in the northern rebellion, were confirmed, and the forfeited estates vested in the queen, to reimburse her for the expence of quelling that insurrection. Some other acts were passed, to prevent the fraudu-

Statutes enacted against the papists.

D'Ewe.]

when it rested. It carried along the streets, hedges, and sheep, that grew and fed upon its surface; overturned Kynaston chapel, which stood in its way, left an opening where it stood, forty feet in depth, and eightells in length, and formed a large hill twelve fathom high, in the place where it rested. Camden.

A. C. 1571. lent deeds of ecclesiastics, defrauding their successors of remedy for dilapidations; to regulate the leases of lands belonging to spiritual promotions, as well as the admission of persons presented to benefices. The commons voted a large subsidy, and the convocation followed their example, after having revised the thirty-nine articles, which were subscribed by all the members of both houses.

Mary, queen of Scotland, having lost all hopes of being delivered from her confinement by fair means, resolved to avail herself of the assistance which the pope and the king of Spain had offered during the treaty. The lords of her party in Scotland had lost the fortress of Dumbarton, which was surprised by Lennox; and John archbishop of St. Andrews, brother to the duke de Chateleraud, being found in the castle, was shamefully put to death, for having rebelled against the young prince in behalf of his mother. The war being renewed between the two parties, Lennox was worsted in several engagements: the friends of Mary convoked a parliament at Edinburgh, in which the queen's resignation was declared of no force or effect; and all subjects were enjoined to obey the queen as their lawful sovereign. Sir William Drury, marshal of Berwick, was ordered by Elizabeth to march with a body of forces to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where he found both parties drawn up in order of battle: he interposed his good offices to prevent mischief; and they consented to wheel about and retire from each other, when he should throw up his hat for a signal. Accordingly, the queen's party turned their faces towards Edinburgh; when Morton perceiving that they marched in a careless and tumultuous manner, fell upon their rear, and pursued them to the gates of the city. This treachery the Scots ascribed to the instigation of Drury. It was denominated Drury's peace, or the black

black Saturday; and that officer became extremely odious to the Scottish nation. Mary's friends had dispatched one Mr. Chiffolme to solicit succours from the French king, who sent M. Verac with a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, part of which fell into the hands of the regent; but he did not long survive this good fortune. While he held a parliament at Stirling, he was surprised by the earl of Huntley and lord Claud Hamilton, who, at the same time, seized the earls of Morton, Glencairn, Cassils, Eglington, Montrose, and Buchan, together with the lords Sempill, Cathcart, and Ochiltree; but the earl of Marr, falling from the castle, retook all the prisoners alive, except Lennox, who was slain in the tumult; and his death being known, the lords chose their deliverer Marr regent in his place.

A. C. 1571.

Death of the earl of Lennox, and the earl of Marr elected regent of Scotland.

At this period a new conspiracy was hatched in England, by Robert Ridolphi, a Florentine merchant and banker, who long resided in London, and acted privately as agent for the pope. He had, at the desire of the Scottish queen, conferred with the bishop of Ross about the offers which had been made to her by the pope and the king of Spain; and the substance of this conversation was sent in cyphers to the duke of Norfolk. They were conveyed to him by Banister and Barker, two of his domestics, in whom he chiefly confided, and decyphered by his secretary Hickford. Ridolphi, being introduced to the duke, pressed him to head an enterprise which he had projected for the release of Mary. This was no other than an insurrection at home, raised by the friends of that princess, and supported by an invasion of Spanish troops from the Low Countries. The duke of Norfolk, who was a good protestant and a loyal subject, could not relish a scheme patronized by the pope and the catholic interest; but he civilly told Ridolphi, that he would do every thing in his power for the relief of

Conspiracy of Ridolphi.

A. D. 1571. the Scottish queen; and that his project was feasible. He absolutely refused to sign letters of credence, which Ridolphi had prepared, to the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva. He would not even confer with the noblemen whom the Italian represented as friends to the undertaking; and he ordered Hickford to burn the papers which he had received; though, in this particular, the secretary did not obey his master's command. Ridolphi, repairing to Brussels, imparted the project to the duke of Alva, who promised to recommend it in the strongest manner to his master the king of Spain. Then the Italian explained the result of his conversation with the duke of Alva, to one Charles Bailiff, in the service of queen Mary, who was at that time in Brussels, and ready to depart for England. This man he likewise intrusted with letters to the queen of Scotland, the duke of Norfolk, the Spanish ambassador, the lord Lumley, and the bishop of Ross. Being searched at Dover, he was committed to the Marshalsea, after all his packets had been seized. When put to the torture, he confessed the whole transaction. The bishop of Ross was immediately examined; and, though he had previously secreted all the letters of any consequence, the council dismissed all his servants but two, and confined him to Ely-house in Holbourn.

While he continued in custody, the French ambassador having occasion to send a supply of money to Verac the agent in Scotland, it was intrusted to the care of one Browne, a domestic to the duke of Norfolk, in order to be forwarded to the frontiers. This man, being a spy in the family, delivered the money to the council, declaring he had received it from Hickford; and that it came from the French ambassador. Hickford being committed to the Tower, and asked if he knew of any letters which had passed between the queen of Scots and his mas-

master, owned that he had secreted some papers A. C. 1571.
 under the mats of the duke's bed, where they were
 immediately found; and the whole correspondence
 was discovered. Barker being apprehended and
 threatened with the rack, confessed all he knew of
 the transaction between Mary, the duke of Nor-
 folk, the bishop of Ross, and Ridolphi. The duke
 himself, supposing all the letters had been burned,
 according to his directions, denied at first that he
 maintained any correspondence with the queen of Fenelon.
 Scotland by letters. Nevertheless, he was sent pri-
 soner to the Tower, together with lord Cobham The duke
of Norfolk
committed
to the
Tower,
 and his brother lord Lumley, Sir Thomas Stanley,
 the earls of Arundel and Southampton, Sir Henry
 Piercy, and many other gentlemen. The queen Styve.
 returning from her summer-progress, ordered the
 duke to be re-examined. When he heard the con-
 fessions of his servants, and knew that the letters
 were discovered, he expressed great astonishment;
 desired the council to intercede with the queen in his
 behalf, and assured them he would explain all his
 transactions, affirming, that whatever might have
 been proposed to him, he had never agreed to any
 scheme which might tend to the prejudice of his so-
 vereign, or disturb the quiet of her kingdom. He
 owned, that the greatest part of the designs formed
 for setting the queen of Scots at liberty had been
 imparted to him, but that he had always declared
 against their being put in execution: and that he
 was no stranger to Ridolphi's project; in which he
 had never engaged. The substance of the duke's and his con-
fession pub-
lished.
 confession, together with those of his domestics, was,
 with many exaggerating annotations, drawn up in
 a kind of narrative, and delivered in the Star-cham-
 ber to the lord mayor and aldermen, who after-
 wards communicated the contents, in a common-
 hall to the citizens. Another tract of the same im-
 port was published and dispersed over the nation,
 in

A. C. 1571. in order to diminish the duke's popularity, and pave the way for his destruction.

Bishop of
Rofs harshly
treated.

The next step of the council was to extort a confession from Lesley bishop of Rofs, who was brought before the council, and told he was a false traitor Scot, to whom no credit should be given. He pleaded his own cause so strenuously, that his examiners were puzzled; and, after having threatened him with the rack, committed him prisoner to a dungeon called the Bloody Tower, where he was deprived of light and fresh air, and debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper. From thence he was, in a few days, brought to the house of the governor of the Tower, where Burleigh, and the other counsellors, renewed his examination. They gave him to understand, that the queen looked upon him as the author of all the conspiracies which had been hatched against her government: nevertheless, he should sustain no hurt, if he would freely declare the part which he had acted in those designs. They did not desire him to own any thing which was not already confessed. They assured him his evidence should not be used to the prejudice of any person whatever: whereas, should he refuse to answer, she would, without hesitation, cause him to be executed, as one of her own subjects who had sought the subversion of her estate. The bishop being allowed to peruse the depositions of the other prisoners, and finding all the papers were discovered, confirmed their confessions, except in the article of breaking up the parliament and seizing the queen, which he denied, in opposition to Barker, with whom he was confronted. Elizabeth suspecting that there was something more in reserve, which he had not confessed, he was again examined, and required to tell the names of the noblemen who had treated with him about bringing over foreign troops into England; but he solemnly declared,
that

that no nobleman of England had ever spoke to him of such a design.

A. C. 1574.

Camden.

On the sixteenth day of January, the duke of Norfolk was brought by water from the Tower to Westminster-hall, in order to be tried by his peers; George Talbot earl of Shrewsbury being appointed high-steward for the occasion. He was arraigned for having entered into a treasonable correspondence against the queen's dignity and life: for having treated of a marriage with the queen of Scotland, contrary to his solemn engagement: for having supplied the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and other traitors, with money; for having craved auxiliary forces of the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, to set the queen of Scots at liberty, and restore the popish religion in England: and, lastly, for having relieved the lord Herries, and others of the queen's enemies, in Scotland. He was denied the privilege of council; and though no part of the charge which amounted to treason could be proved against him, he was found guilty, to the astonishment of all wise and unprejudiced persons, and the unspeakable regret of the nation in general. About this time the Spanish ambassador was ordered to quit the kingdom, on account of his connexion with Rido-phi, and the part he had acted in other conspiracies. He had exerted all his endeavours to prevent the match between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou. He offered, in the name of Philip, to acquit her of the money she had detained; and to repair the damage sustained by the English merchants in the Spanish territories. He proposed a marriage between the queen and the emperor's son Rodolphus: he attempted to bribe the ladies of the court, and the lords of the council; and all his efforts mis- carrying, he charged Cecil as the cause of all the misunderstanding between the courts of London and

The duke of Norfolk tried and condemned.

Fencloa.

The Spanish ambassador com-
manded to quit the kingdom.

A. C. 1572.

Camden.

and Madrid. Borghese, his butler, was accused of having hired Kenelm Barney, and Edmund Mather, to murder the lord Burleigh, and they being convicted of the undertaking, were executed according to law; but Borghese's life was spared in consideration of his being servant to an ambassador.

Recueil des
Traités par
Leonard.

Elizabeth
concludes a
treaty with
Charles of
France at
Blois.

Walsing-
ham's Ne-
gotiations.

The disgraceful dismissal of the Spanish ambassador was so highly resented by Philip, that he ordered all the English subjects in Spain to be imprisoned, and their effects confiscated, and prohibited all commerce between the two nations. His resentment was very little regarded by Elizabeth, who, in the month of April, concluded a defensive league at Blois, with Charles IX. of France, by which both parties engaged to assist each other against all invasion. They agreed that no innovation should be made in the kingdom of Scotland; but that they would jointly defend it from all foreigners; and it was stipulated, that in case any English ships should be taken or seized in the Low Countries, or in Spain, the French king should solicit restitution at the court of Madrid; or that intercession failing, make reprisals upon the Spanish and Flemish subjects in his dominions, Elizabeth engaging to act in the same manner in his behalf. The earl of Lincoln, lord-admiral, was sent with a magnificent train to Paris, to see this treaty ratified by Charles; and the marechal de Montmorency arriving in England to procure Elizabeth's ratification, was invested with the order of the garter. Immediately after this event, the post of lord treasurer, vacant by the death of the old marquis of Winchester, was conferred upon lord Burleigh; the privy-seal was given to lord Effingham; the earl of Suffex was appointed lord-chamberlain of the household, and secretary Smith created chancellor of the order of the garter.

The

The satisfaction produced by this alliance was soon interrupted by an event which evinced the French king and his mother two monsters of perfidy and dissimulation. They had invited the admiral de Chatillon, and the count de Rochefoucault, the chiefs of the Huguenots, to Paris, on pretence of their assisting at the marriage of the princess Margaret with the king of Navarre, and there they were cruelly butchered on St. Bartholomew-tide, together with about two thousand other persons who professed the reformed religion. The same massacre was perpetrated upon the Huguenots of Rouen, Meaux, Troyes, Orleans, Anjou, Bourges, Lyon, Tholouse, and other places, where above thirty thousand were sacrificed. This butchery, which was highly approved at Rome, overwhelmed all the protestants in Europe with sorrow and consternation. Elizabeth, in particular, looked upon it as the first overt-act of the league of Bayonne, which was formed for the extinction of the protestant religion. Charles perceiving that the massacre had driven the remaining Huguenots to despair, inasmuch that they began to take up arms in several provinces, while the city of Rochelle refused to admit his forces, resolved to cajole Elizabeth, in order to prevent her assisting those malcontents. When her ambassador Walsingham told him, in her name, that no confidence could be reposed in a prince who could be guilty of such an infamous action, he endeavoured to excuse himself, by alledging that the admiral had formed a conspiracy to assassinate him and his whole family; and he protested that he had nothing so much at heart, as to live in friendship with Elizabeth. This princess found it convenient to dissemble in her turn. She received intimation from Walsingham, that there was an intimate union between the kings of France and Spain, notwithstanding the professions of Charles,

The protestants massacred in Paris, and other parts of France.

A. C. 1572. Charles, who pretended to dread the designs of Philip : that the duke of Guise had frequent conferences with the Scots in Paris ; and that the queen-mother conferred in private with the bishop of Glasgow, who resided at the court of France as Mary's ambassador. From this information, Elizabeth and her council concluded, that the friendship of France was not to be depended upon ; but that it would be necessary to dissemble, until they should procure farther intelligence touching the designs of the catholic princes. The queen therefore admitted of the excuses made by Charles ; assured him of the continuance of her friendship ; consented to the renewal of the treaty for a match between her and the duke of Alençon ; and the queen of France being delivered of a daughter, stood godmother to the infant, which was christened by the name of Mary-Elizabeth, in presence of the earl of Worcester, who acted as proxy for the queen of England.

Fenslon.

Notwithstanding this mark of her confidence, she issued orders for fortifying Portsmouth, and other sea-port towns ; for exercising the militia ; and keeping a strong fleet ready equipped for service ; and by popular acts she secured the affection of her subjects. She continued to foment the troubles in Scotland, where she supported the interest of Morton against the friends of Mary, publicly declaring that she would never see that princess at liberty ; but would maintain the government of the young prince with all her power. Her agent, Sir W. Drury, and the French minister Du Croc, on pretence of mediating a pacification, found means to keep up a dissention between the two parties. The earl of Marr, and the laird of Grange, governor of Edinburgh-castle, were so sincerely disposed to an accommodation, that Morton, who gaped after forfeitures, and found his account in the troubles of the kingdom, knowing no other method for pre-
venting

Camden.

venting a reconciliation and coalition, is said to have poisoned the regent at a banquet. Certain it is, the earl of Marr was suddenly taken ill at Morton's house, and dying in a few days, was succeeded by this nobleman in the regency.

A. C. 1572.
The earl of
Morton
chosen re-
gent of
Scotland.

Melvil.

The parliament meeting in May, the commons addressed her majesty, that the duke of Norfolk might be put to death without further delay, alledging this step was necessary for her own preservation, and the peace of the kingdom. This address furnished her with a pretence for doing that which she had hitherto affected to postpone, from considerations of pity: she granted a warrant for his execution; and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, where he suffered with great fortitude, protesting the innocence of his intention towards the queen, and professing the protestant religion. He was the worthiest and best beloved nobleman of all England. The tears ran down the cheeks of the earl of Shrewsbury when he pronounced his sentence; and the multitude wept bitterly at his death. The queen dreaded his popularity so much, that she did not think herself safe while he existed, conscious as she was of his attachment to the interest and person of Mary. This unfortunate queen was the other great object of her jealousy and apprehension. She had sent the lord Delawar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir T. Bromley, and doctor Wilson, to expostulate with her upon her assuming the English arms, upon her intrigues with the duke of Norfolk, the pope, and the rebels of England; and she acquitted herself of every imputation. Mary had been more chearful than ordinary on the eve of the massacre of Paris; a circumstance from which her keepers concluded that she knew of their detestable enterprize before; it was executed: they signified their suspicion to the ministry, and she was more closely imprisoned.

The duke of
Norfolk be-
headed.

A. C. 1574.

Rancour of
the English
parliament
against Ma-
ry queen of
Scots.

The commons of this parliament were chiefly puritans; a sect which had started up since the reformation, pretending to greater purity in doctrine and worship, than they could find in the established church. They were the most rancorous enemies of queen Mary, as a popish princess; they were returned to this parliament on that account, and tutored for the occasion. They resolved to proceed against Mary as a person guilty of high treason; and had actually made some progress in a bill of attainder, when the French ambassador remonstrating against their outrageous presumption, the queen sent a message to the house, thanking them for the care they took of her safety, and approving their method of proceeding, in concurrence with the lords: but, for certain respects, she desired they would postpone that design, and bring in another bill to secure her from the machinations of the Scottish queen, without either impairing or confirming her title to the crown of England. An act was accordingly passed, importing, that whosoever should devise the enlargement or escape of any prisoner committed for treason, or suspicion of treason, against the queen's person, should be held guilty of misprision of treason, even before the said prisoner's indictment. Another statute declared it felony to take, detain, burn, or ruin any of her majesty's ships, fortresses, or harbours.

D'Ewe's
Journal.

Elizabeth, at this juncture, had very little to fear, either from her domestic or foreign enemies. All the malcontents of England were intimidated into submission, by the fate of the duke of Norfolk; and the duke of Alva was so embarrassed in the Low Countries, that he could not spare the least assistance to the friends of Mary queen of Scotland. The cities of the Netherlands, that refused to pay the exorbitant taxes which he imposed, were deprived of their privileges, and garrisoned with

with Spanish soldiers, who lived at discretion among the inhabitants; so that all the provinces were ripe for revolt. The prince of Orange, who was at the head of the opposition, solicited the assistance of Elizabeth, offering to cede Holland and Zealand to her, if she would join the insurgents in expelling the Spaniards: but she declined engaging in an expensive war; though she granted refuge to the Gueux Marins, a considerable party of noblemen, and others, who had fled from the Low Countries, and subsisted by exercising piracy on the ships belonging to the subjects of Philip. They sold their prizes in England, and their vessels lay at anchor in the Downs, or some harbour in that neighbourhood, until the duke of Alva agreeing with Elizabeth to expel all the English refugees from Flanders, she ordered the Gueux to quit her ports, and forbade her subjects to furnish them with provisions. In this emergency they united under the count of La Marche, to whom the prince of Orange granted a commission; and sailing for Holland, made themselves masters of the Brille, which afforded them the convenience of a good harbour. The count de Bossu, governor of Holland, attempted to retake it, but miscarried. Flushing and Campvere revolted from the Spaniards; Delft, Rotterdam, and Dort, soon followed their example; and Enckhuysen, with all the towns of North Holland, declared for the prince of Orange, who reduced several towns in Friesland, as well as upon the Meuse; while Mons was surprised by count Lewis of Nassau. The duke of Alva immediately invested the place; and the prince of Orange attempted in vain to raise the siege. Failing in that enterprize, he

A. C. 1572.

Progress of the prince of Orange in the Low Countries.

Grotius.]

An. C. 1573. Leyden, and Middleburgh; and, in a little time, cleared all Zealand of the Spanish forces.

Accommodation between Elizabeth and Philip of Spain.

Philip, in this low ebb of his affairs, solicited an accommodation with Elizabeth, who, with a view to obtain some advantages in trade to her subjects, agreed to adjust the differences subsisting between the two crowns. Commissioners were appointed for settling the accompts of the seizures made on both sides: the balance was paid to the king of Spain, and the commerce between England and his territories renewed, by a treaty concluded at Bristol. The queen took care that the English merchants should be indemnified for the losses they had sustained; she likewise discharged the debts, which had been contracted by her father, brother, and sister; and the bonds granted by the city of London, for the payment of those incumbrances, were now delivered up, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants.

Penelon.

Rochelle, the great bulwark of the protestants, being besieged by the duke of Anjou, and reduced almost to extremity, for want of powder and provisions, large contributions were raised in London, to equip an armament for its relief. When remonstrances were made to the queen on this subject by the French ambassador, she said she did not believe so much money as he mentioned could be found in the city of London; but that it was very natural for the merchants to sell their provisions and commodities where they could find the best market. The count of Montgomery was at the head of this armament, consisting of five and fifty ships, that sailed in April for Rochelle; but finding it impracticable to succour the place, they returned next month to England, in order to raise a greater number of forces. The bishop of London, and the earl of Essex, in the name of the clergy and nobility,

lity, demanded her majesty's permission to levy ten thousand men, by private collection, for the support of the inhabitants of Rochelle; but this she refused, as an act contrary to her last treaty with France. M. de Fenelon demanded that Montgomery and his accomplices should be delivered into the hands of his master, that they might be punished for their rebellion: but she told him she would repeat the answer which Henry II. of France made on the like occasion to her sister Mary: She would not be the French king's executioner. The duke of Anjou lost four and twenty thousand men before Rochelle, which was defended with such desperate obstinacy, that he had made but little progress in the siege, when he received the tidings of his being elected king of Poland. This event affording him a salvo for his reputation, he concluded a treaty with the inhabitants, in which their allies of Nismes and Montauban were comprehended. Queen Elizabeth took offence at her lover, the duke of Alençon, for acting as volunteer at this siege, against the French protestants; but he excused himself, on account of his honour's being engaged in such a manner, that he could not quit the service without a blemish on his reputation. He prosecuted his suit in a great number of letters: his picture was sent over to England; and the queen granted a safe-conduct, by virtue of which he might safely visit the court of London: another was expedited for the duke of Anjou, who purposed to pass through the British seas to Poland: but no use was made of either. The duke of Anjou repaired to Poland by land; and his brother's intended voyage was prevented.

The duke
of Anjou is
elected king
of Poland.

Fenelon.

By this time the friends of Mary in Scotland were compelled to submit to Morton the regent. They consisted of two parties, one of which had adhered to her from the beginning, and the other

A. C. 1573. favoured her cause that the troubles of their country might be the sooner pacified. The first was headed by the duke de Chateleaud and the earl of Huntley. The chiefs of the other were the earl of Home, secretary Lidington, and the laird of Grange, governor of the castle of Edinburgh, in which they resided. Morton employed Sir James Melvil to effect a separate accommodation with these last, and proposed such terms as they would have willingly embraced, provided the rest of the queen's friends might have been comprehended in the treaty. But Morton did not desire to be at peace with the whole party: his view was to enrich himself with forfeitures. He therefore proposed a separate peace or none; and Grange rejected his proposal from motives of honour. Then the regent had recourse to the duke and Huntley, who were not so scrupulous. They accepted of a separate peace; and now he would not indulge Grange and his associates with the terms he had offered before. Sir W. Drury marched from Berwick with a reinforcement, and a train of artillery, to assist him in reducing the castle of Edinburgh, which was very ill provided with ammunition; and the number of the soldiers in garrison did not exceed one hundred and sixty. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the governor, who was a man of great courage, conduct, and experience, made a vigorous defence for three and thirty days, during which the water in the draw-well failed. Then the besieged were fain to let down the soldiers by ropes over the walls, to fetch water from a neighbouring fountain, which being poisoned by the enemy, the garrison that drank of it fell sick and died; so that it was now reduced to fifteen individuals. In this emergency, Grange surrendered to Sir W. Drury, upon an honourable capitulation: but Elizabeth refusing to accept of him and his friends as her prisoners, they were delivered

Morton besieges the castle of Edinburgh,

livered to Morton, who caused the governor, and his brother Sir James Kirkaldy, to be hanged on a gibbet, at the market-cross of Edinburgh: secretary Lidington is said to have died at Leith like an old Roman; and Home, paying ten thousand pounds to Morton, was put in possession of his castles. The regent, not yet satisfied with blood, demanded that Elizabeth would deliver into his hands the bishop of Ross, who had been released from the Tower, at the intercession of the marshal de Montmorency, and committed in custody to the bishop of Winchester. But the French ambassador remonstrating against such an outrage upon good faith, and the law of nations, the queen of England rejected Morton's demand, and allowed the bishop to withdraw himself into the French dominions.

A. C. 1573.

and puts the laird of Grange to death.

Fenelon.
Crawford,
Lefley.

Charles IX. of France being seized with a lingering distemper, the queen-mother suspecting that the duke of Alençon intended to supplant his brother Henry in his absence, in case the king should die, prevailed upon this monarch to confine him, and the king of Navarre, his supposed confident and counsellor. Charles dying in May, his mother resumed the regency by virtue of his will, and governed the kingdom until the king of Poland arrived, and succeeded him on the throne of France, by the appellation of Henry III. This was a fortunate event for Elizabeth, as the new monarch was extremely averse to the family of Guise, and to Mary queen of Scotland as their relation. Every thing seemed to conspire for the quiet of the English queen. The duke of Alva was recalled from Flanders, and succeeded in command by don Lewis Zuniga de Requesenos, who sent an envoy to assure her of his endeavours to cultivate a good understanding between England and the Low Countries. Scotland was united under her creature the earl of

A. C. 1574;
The duke of Anjou succeeds to the throne of France.

A. D. 1574. Morton; the friends of Mary in England were effectually quelled; and the nation enjoyed the most profound tranquillity. In the preceding year, Walter Devereux, lately created earl of Essex, had been sent into Ireland with some forces, to suppress Brian Macphelim in Claneboy, who had rebelled, together with Tirlogh Leinigh, supported by the Scottish highlanders. The earl advancing against Macphelim, defeated and took him, with his wife and brother-in-law; but finding himself thwarted by the earl of Leicester, in the plans he had formed for keeping the Irish in awe, he desired leave to return to England. Being ordered to resume the command next year, he made peace with Tirlogh, and drove the Scots out of Claneboy. Then he was required to resign his authority: Sir Henry Sidney was sent over as lord lieutenant, and received the submission of the Irish chieftains in Ulster and Leinster.

Camden.

A. C. 1575. Elizabeth no sooner understood that Henry III. of France was returned to Poland, than she sent an ambassador to compliment him upon his accession to the throne, and know his sentiments with regard to the treaty of Troyes; which he readily confirmed, and was elected knight of the garter. Nevertheless, as he renewed hostilities against the Huguenots, she furnished John Casimir, son to the elector palatine, with a sum of money to levy a body of German auxiliaries for the service of the duke of Alençon, who had made his escape from court, and joined the malcontents. The queen of England had now accomplished all her aims, but that of having the prince of Scotland in her hands; and the earl of Morton would have willingly gratified her in that particular, had not young James been carefully protected by his governor, Alexander Erskine, in the castle of Stirling, who refused to give up his charge without an order of parliament.

Eliza-

Elizabeth sent large sums to Scotland with Sir H. Killewrew, to facilitate this event; but the Scots would not suffer their prince to be carried out of the kingdom. Sir John Carmichael, warden of the Scottish Marches, meeting, at a place called the Redsquair, with Sir John Foster, who acted in the same capacity on the English borders, and was besides governor of Berwick, the Scottish warden delivered up the English fugitives who were in his hands, according to custom and convention; and, when he demanded the Scottish refugees in return, Sir John Foster treated him with intolerable insolence. A skirmish immediately ensued, in which the English were worsted. Sir George Heron and four and twenty persons were slain on the spot: Sir John Foster, Francis Russel, son to the earl of Bedford, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, James Ogle, Henry Fenwick, and other gentlemen, were carried prisoners to Edinburgh, where they were sumptuously entertained and dismissed by the regent. Nay, at Elizabeth's desire, he sent Carmichael to London to ask her majesty's pardon; but, upon inquiry, she found Foster had been the aggressor, and the Scot was gratified with an honourable reward.

Skirmish on the border, between the English and Scottish wardens of the marches.

The commerce between the English and Philip's subjects in the Netherlands had been restored, together with the good understanding between that prince and Elizabeth. Zuniga, in consequence of this harmony, desired leave to hire ships and mariners in England; and demanded that all the Dutch rebels should be expelled from the kingdom. Although she refused to comply with these requests; yet, upon his sending away the earl of Westmoreland, and the English fugitives, from the Low Countries, and dissolving the seminary at Douay, she banished all the Dutch who carried arms against the king of Spain, and prohibited her subjects from

A. C. 1576.
Affairs of the Low Countries.

A. C. 1576. receiving any such persons into any of the ports or harbours of England. The prince of Orange, and the estates of Holland and Zealand, finding themselves unable to support the war much longer against the wealth and power of Philip, sent deputies to implore the assistance of Elizabeth, and offer to her the sovereignty of their country, as the lineal heir of Philippa, wife of Edward III. and daughter of William count of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland. These deputies were kindly received by Elizabeth, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Champigny, whom the governor of the Netherlands sent over to traverse their negotiation; but she was very loth to engage in a war upon their account. The governor of the Low Countries dying suddenly, the council of state took the government into their own hands, until the arrival of don John of Austria, who was appointed governor of those provinces. The Walons in garrison at Ziriczee, expelled the Spanish troops, who, to the number of two thousand, plundered the villages of Brabant, and even made themselves masters of Antwerp. The spirit of mutiny spreading among their countrymen, they rendezvoused at Alost, being now increased to six thousand infantry, and twelve hundred horse; and some German regiments joined them in this rebellion. They plundered Maestricht and Antwerp, where they massacred seventeen thousand persons, without distinction of age or sex. At length the estates of the Walon provinces called in the prince of Orange to their assistance. They engaged with the states of Holland and Zealand, in a treaty for driving the Spaniards, and other foreign troops, out of the country, and holding a general assembly for regulating the article of religion, and establishing a solid union among all the provinces. Accordingly, the Spaniards were expelled from many towns and castles, when don John of Austria arriving at Luxembourg,

embourg, demanded the sole command of their standing forces, and a certain number of hostages for his safety. The estates, alarmed at these marks of distrust, insisted upon having a share in the government. They resolved that no forces should be levied, nor towns garrisoned, without their consent; they demanded that he should take an oath to maintain their antient privileges; and refused to treat with him, until the Spanish and other foreign troops should be sent out of the country. In order to support these resolutions, they began to levy forces, and sent an envoy to England, to represent their grievances to queen Elizabeth, who supplied them with a loan of twenty thousand pounds, and promised to advance four times the sum on the credit of the states-general. She at the same time dispatched agents to the king of Spain and don John, pressing the departure of the foreign troops from the Low Countries; declaring, that should they refuse to comply with this remonstrance, she would assist the natives in expelling them by force.

Grotius,

She was the more enabled to succour the states at this juncture, as the parliament, which met in February, and the convocation, had granted a considerable subsidy. In return for these succours, the queen renewed the treaty of commerce with Portugal, by which her subjects were allowed to trade to Madeira and the Azores. The success of the Portuguese had inspired the English with a spirit of adventure by sea; and Martin Forbisher now set sail from Harwich with five ships, on the discovery of a north-west passage to the East Indies; but this enterprize did not succeed. * In the course of this year too, Walter Devereux earl of Essex died

Martin Forbisher sails in quest of a north-west passage to the East-Indies,

Camden,

in

* The earl of Leicester, who had, two hundred thousand crowns in the in the course of this last year, received from the queen's bounty above other grants, entertained the queen at Kenil-

A. C. 1576. in the castle of Dublin, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the direction of the earl of Leicester, who repudiated his own wife, and married the widow of Essex. Several insurrections were raised in Ireland, by the sons of the earl of Clanricard in Connaught, and by Rory Oge in Leinster; but the rebels were reduced by the valour of Sir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy, and Sir W. Drury, now president of Munster.

Camden.

The court of France was not less embarrassed than the new governor of the Low Countries. The duke of Alençon had levied an army against the king, in favour of the Huguenots; and he was joined by the prince of Condé, with the troops of prince Casimer: in a word, the protestants were supported by the duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, with an army of thirty thousand men. Nevertheless, the queen-mother found means to disunite their councils, and then offered such terms of peace as they did not think proper to refuse. The treaty was confirmed by the parliament of Paris; the duke of Alençon repairing to court, was detached from his party, and assumed the title of the duke of Anjou. The peace was no sooner ratified, than the queen-mother, in conjunction with the pope's legate, the duke of Guise, and don John of Austria, began to concert measures for exterminating the protestant religion. The zealous catholics all over the kingdom engaged in associations against the enemies of the ancient religion. These were known by the appellation of

Kenilworth-castle, for nineteen days successively, with surprising magnificence. One and thirty barons, besides the ladies of the queen's household, were lodged in the castle, and attended by four hundred servants belonging to Leicester, all in new liveries. His gentlemen who waited at

table were clothed in velvet. Sixteen hogheads of wine, forty of beer, and ten oxen, were consumed every day, besides a vast quantity of fruit and comfitures. Their pastime consisted in hunting, rustic revelry, comedies, concerts, and masquerades.

Strype.
the

the holy union, or league. Of this, the king of Spain assumed the title of protector, and the duke of Guise declared himself the chief. It was promoted by the pope, patronized by the queen-mother; and Henry himself, an indolent and effeminate prince, was hurried into the scheme by the torrent of evil counsel. He was even inflamed with extraordinary zeal upon this occasion. Being jealous of the duke of Guise, he declared himself chief of the league, which he signed with his own hand. All the grantees followed his example, and it was sent through the provinces to be subscribed by all the catholics. The states assembled at Blois sent a deputation, desiring he would not suffer any other worship but that of the old religion; and he assured them it was his intention to abolish all innovation.

A. C. 1576.
The king of France subscribes the league against the Huguenots.

Don John of Austria, whose great aims were to subdue the Low Countries, and become master of Great Britain, by a marriage with the queen of Scotland, was obliged to sign the pacification of Ghent, which Philip thought proper to confirm by edict. Then it was resolved, in an assembly of the states convened at Marche en Famine, to publish a perpetual edict for compelling the Spanish troops to quit the country. These troops were accordingly sent into Italy, and all the places remained in the hands of the states. At length don John pulled off the masque, and surprised the castle of Namur. Then he attempted to gain over the German troops, who waited for their arrears, to deliver the places where they were in garrison: but his success was anticipated by the states, which engaged those troops in their service. Those of Brabant conferred the superintendency of their country with the title of Ruart, upon the prince of Orange; and this step excited the jealousy of the duke de Arscot, and some other Brabantine noblemen, who, in order to diminish the credit of the prince, proposed to the confederate

Mazarin.

A. C. 1577.

A. C. 1577. confederate provinces that they should elect one governor-general. The election fell upon Matthias, brother to the emperor Rodolphos II. and the prince of Orange was declared his lieutenant. Matthias, pretending to escape from the imperial court, repaired to the Netherlands, where he was invested with his office; and then the estates declared war against Don John, who had already prepared for the rupture, by sending for the troops from Italy. Elizabeth being informed of the scheme which Don John had projected, with regard to her dominions, interested herself so warmly in the cause of the confederates, that she insisted upon being made acquainted with every material deliberation of the states-general: but, at the very time when she lent them money to maintain the war against Philip, she assured him by letters, that she had no intention to infringe the ancient alliance between England and house of Burgundy, alledging that her sole view in supplying the confederates with money, was to hinder them from throwing themselves into the arms of France. Philip was not at all satisfied with this argument; but, he dissembled his real sentiments, lest she should be tempted to engage more effectually in their behalf. With respect to the affairs of France, the Huguenots seeing the king bent upon their destruction, formed a counter league for their own preservation, declared the king of Navarre their general, and the prince of Condé his lieutenant. The edict of pacification being revoked, hostilities recommenced, though greatly to the disadvantage of the Huguenots; but, as the duke of Guise derived great credit from the management of the war, the king, who hated that nobleman, granted another peace to his protestant subjects. From this period Henry abandoned himself to effeminate pleasures, and the most excessive expence, by which conduct he lost the esteem and affection of his people.

Eng-

Matthias,
brother to
the emperor,
is chosen
governor of
the Nether-
lands.

Grotius.
Camden.

Mestral.

England mean while enjoyed peace and plenty under the wise administration of Elizabeth; though in the course of this year, the nation was alarmed with the fear of a contagion, from an accident that happened at the summer assize in Oxford, where the stench and putrid air brought from the jail by the prisoners, affected the bench, juries, and spectators in such a manner, that three hundred persons were taken ill and died of the infection. The plague about the same time broke out in the temple at London; but was hindered from spreading, by the great care of Fleetwood the recorder. Cuthbert Maine, a Romish priest, was condemned and executed at Launceston in Cornwall, upon the last statute enacted against the pope's emissaries; and Trugeon, a gentleman who entertained him in his house, was confiscated, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Philip of Spain being apprised of Elizabeth's connection with the confederate states of the Low Countries, to whom she had promised by treaty a loan of one hundred thousand pounds, and a reinforcement of five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, endeavoured to retort her ill offices by exciting a rebellion in Ireland, by means of Thomas Stukely, an English fugitive, on whom pope Gregory XIII. conferred the titles of earl of Wexford and marquis of Leinster. The design of his holiness was to procure the crown of Ireland for his own son or nephew James Buon Campagno; and eight hundred Italians were levied for the enterprize. With these Stukely set sail from Civita Vecchia, and arriving at Lisbon was persuaded to engage in the service of Don Sebastian king of Portugal, just ready to embark for Africa, where both he and Stukely perished in the battle of Alcazar.

In the Netherlands, Don John of Austria being reinforced by the Spanish troops from Italy, and another body of forces from that country, under the

A. C. 1577.
Black assize
at Oxford.

Camden.

A. C. 1578.

A. C. 1578.

Dissentions
among the
confederates
of the Low
Countries.

the command of Alexander Farnese, obtained a signal victory at Gemblours over the confederates, whose affairs began to decline in consequence of religious disputes. The towns of Amsterdam, Haerlem, and Utrecht, expelled their magistrates and put the government into the hands of the protestants. The catholics, alarmed at these events, which seemed to portend the destruction of the old religion, proposed to confer the government of the state upon the duke of Anjou, who was accordingly declared protector of the Belgic liberty. The protestants demanded that they should be admitted to the exercise of public employments, as well as the catholics. This demand was granted by the states, on condition that the catholics should enjoy the same privilege in Holland and Zealand. These two provinces eluded this article, and hence dissentions arose among the confederates. This division was increased by the inhabitants of Ghent, who expelled the Roman priests from their city; while the people of Artois and Hainault banished the protestants in their turn. Don John, in hope of profiting by this animosity, attacked the army of the states in their camp at Rymenant in Brabant, and was repulsed after a very obstinate engagement, in which Sir John Norreys, second son of the lord Norreys of Rycot, and colonel Steuart, at the head of two regiments of English and Scottish volunteers, signalized themselves by remarkable acts of valour. This attempt miscarrying, Don John endeavoured to amuse them with proposals of peace, until his army should be reinforced. They agreed to the negotiation for the same reason; for they expected to be joined by prince Casimer, and a considerable body of Germans; and the duke of Anjou had already advanced to the frontiers of Hainault, with eight thousand auxiliaries. By these junctions on both sides, Don John found himself at the head of fifty thousand

land men, including infantry and cavalry; and the army of the estates amounted to threeſcore thouſand; but this laſt was rendered uſeleſs by the diſputes between the inhabitants of Ghent, and the provinces of Hainault and Artois. Some of their troops mutinied, and, joining the people of Artois, made incuſſions into Flanders; and the inhabitants of Ghent brought over prince Caſimer to their intereſt, by promiſing to pay his ſoldiers, he having ſquandered away the money which Elizabeth had remitted to him for that purpoſe. Daviſon was ſent over by the queen to make ſevere remonſtrances on this ſubject; but, he made ſuch an apology as ſhe admitted; for in the winter he viſited her court, where he was graciouſly received, and inveſted with the order of the garter. Don John dying ſuddenly, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, was ſucceeded in command by the prince of Parma, to whom the eſtates of Artois and Hainault ſubmitted; and the duke of Anjou ſeeing this defection, diſmiſſed his troops, and retired to France. While he reſided in the Low Countries, he had diſpatched Martel de Bacqueville to England, in order to renew the negotiation of his marriage with Elizabeth: afterwards the king of France ſent over Rambouillet for the ſame purpoſe; and both theſe envoys were received in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to denote her approbation of the propoſal. This was thought to be the more ſincere, as ſhe had now no cauſe to diſſemble her ſentiments.

Don John dying, is ſucceeded by the prince of Parma.

Grotius.

Elizabeth receives a ſplendid embaffy from France, touching her marriage with the duke of Anjou.

Morton, the regent of Scotland, had by this time rendered himſelf odious to the whole nation; by his lewd life, perfidy, oppreſſion, and rapaciouſneſs. Elizabeth, whoſe creature he was, alarmed at his conduct, ſent Randolph into Scotland, on pretence of congratulating the young king upon the progreſs he had made in his ſtudies: but his real errand was to recommend moderation to the regent,

A. C. 1578.

Melvil.

Morton is
obliged to
resign the
regency of
Scotland.

gent, and to exhort him to live in good understanding with the earls of Argyle and Athol, and some other malcontent noblemen, who might otherwise excite fresh disturbances in the kingdom. Notwithstanding this salutary advice, he still persisted in his own way, until Erskine the king's governor, and his four preceptors, inspired him with an antipathy to that nobleman. The earls of Argyle and Athol being apprized of this circumstance, repaired privately to court, and persuaded him to take the reins of government into his own hands, though he was no more than twelve years of age; and measures were taken for this purpose so expeditiously that Morton could not prevent the execution of their scheme. The parliament assembling, confirmed what the king had done, and appointed twelve noblemen for his privy council. Morton was one of this number; but he feigned himself disgusted with the world, and retired to his castle of Lochleven, where he employed his time in cultivating his garden.

James
claims the
succession of
his grandfa-
ther the earl
of Lennox.

The young king sent an embassy to make Elizabeth acquainted with his having assumed the administration, to renew the alliance between the two nations, and demand the succession of his grandfather the late earl of Lennox. The queen had no intention to deprive him of this estate; but that he might see his succession to the crown of England depended in a great measure upon her good will, she pretended that the effects of the earl of Lennox were claimed by Arabella Stuart. This lady, though the daughter of the earl's younger brother, was a native of England, and therefore conceived herself preferable to James, who was a foreigner. The estate, however, was sequestered in the hands of lord Burleigh. The commissioners appointed to treat of the alliance, demanded that the king of Scotland should not engage in any treaty or contract of marriage, without the consent of the queen of England:

land: but the ambassadors rejected this proposal. In the mean time, the earl of Morton, who entertained spies about the king's person at Stirling, entered that town in the night with a troop of armed men, and resumed the post which he had been obliged to resign.

Camden.

A. C. 1579.

Marriage between the queen and the duke of Anjou seemingly in great forwardness.

The queen of England seemed now more than ever intent upon her marriage with the duke of Anjou; besides Bacqueville and Rambouillet, the French king had sent over Simier, a subtle agent, possessed of the most insinuating address, who gained such an ascendancy over the passions of Elizabeth, that she seemed to have conceived a very warm affection for the person of the duke of Anjou; insomuch that Leicester and others affirmed she was infatuated by the arts of incantation. Simier, in revenge, did the earl ill offices with the queen; and was the first who informed her of that nobleman's private marriage with the widow of Essex. She was so incensed at this information, that she ordered the earl to be confined in the castle of Greenwich, and would actually have committed him to the Tower, had not the earl of Suffex, tho' his enemy, generously interposed in his behalf, and represented the injustice of punishing any subject for contracting a lawful marriage. Leicester, enraged to find his influence thus superseded by an obscure foreigner, is said to have employed one Teuder, a life-guard man, to assassinate Simier; and the queen being apprized of his resentment, issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons to injure or affront this agent or any of his attendants. In a few days after this proclamation, Elizabeth, being in her barge upon the Thames, with Simier, the earl of Lincoln, and the vice-chancellor Hatton, one of the rowers was wounded in the arm with a musket-bullet, discharged from a ship-boat; and the young man who fired the piece was apprehended and convicted of treason: but protesting even at the gallows, that the

A. C. 1579. shot was merely accidental, the queen pardoned him, declaring that she could not believe any thing of her subjects which a mother would not believe of her own children. The duke of Anjou, flattered by the intelligence he received from his agent, came over to England incognito, attended by two domestics only. He was introduced to Elizabeth, who expressed great satisfaction at his unexpected arrival; and, after they had conferred several times together in private, he returned to France, in full hope of seeing his aim accomplished. This match was very disagreeable to great part of the nation, and to the puritans in particular. John Stubbs of Lincoln's Inn published a virulent invective against it, called the Gaping Gulph, for which he was sentenced to lose his right hand, and underwent a long imprisonment. The queen appointed a select committee of her council, to consider and draw up in writing the advantages and inconveniences which might attend the match, and to confer with Simier on the articles. These, however, they neither rejected nor approved; but referred the discussion of them either to a parliament, or a conference between the queen and the duke of Anjou.

Camden.

Esme Stuart
lord D'Au-
bigny arrives
in Scotland,

and becomes
the chief fa-
vourite of
James,

While Elizabeth was employed in these measures for cementing her friendship with the French king, the duke of Guise resolved to embroil her with the prince of Scotland. For this purpose, he made use of Esme Stuart, baron D'Aubigny, son of John Stuart, second brother to Matthew earl of Lennox. This young nobleman, who was educated in France, repairing to Scotland, on pretence of paying his respects to king James, who was his near kinsman, insinuated himself into the good graces of the Scottish monarch. He was created earl, and afterwards duke of Lennox, and divided the king's favour with another youth called James Stuart, son of the lord Ochiltree. These two uniting their interest for the de-

destruction of Morton, easily found means to render that nobleman odious and detestable in the eyes of his sovereign. The regent perceived the progress they had made against him, and endeavoured to baffle their arts, by representing Lennox as a papist, and creature of the duke of Guise, come over for the destruction of the reformed religion. The ministers of the kirk were tutored to thunder these assertions from their pulpits, as well as to impeach the morals of Stuart, who was certainly a youth of a most dissolute life and conversation; but Morton was so universally hated, that these sermons produced very little effect, and he now saw his ruin approaching. A. C. 1579. Melvil.

Nothing else remarkable happened during this year in England, except the execution of Matthew Hamont for blasphemy at Norwich; the establishment of the Turkey company, by virtue of a treaty with Amurath sultan of the Turks, managed by William Harbourn; the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, who was succeeded by Thomas Bromly, appointed lord-chancellor of England; and the decease of Sir Thomas Gresham, who built the Royal Exchange, and dedicated a large house to the purposes of learning, where he founded lectures on divinity, the civil law, medicine, astronomy, geometry, rhetoric, and music. Establishment of the Turkey-company, Death of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and of Sir Thomas Gresham.

In the Low Countries, the prince of Parma amused the confederates with a negotiation at Cologne; and, in the mean time, fomented their dissensions and mutual animosity. The prince of Orange, far from being dispirited by the defection of Hainault, Artois, and some other provinces, which submitted to the dominion of Philip, exerted all his influence and industry in strengthening the confederacy of those provinces, which still persisted in the resolution to throw off the Spanish yoke. At length he effected the famous union of Utrecht, between Hol-

A. C. 1579.

The prince
of Orange
effects the
union of
Utrecht.

land, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, to which Ghent and Ypres afterwards acceded; and the prince was elected governor of Flanders. Mean while the prince of Parma reduced Maastricht, and then dismissed the greatest part of his Spanish and Italian troops, according to his engagement with the states who had submitted: an act of honour and good faith, which was attended with the submission of Mechlin, Lisle, and Valenciennes.

Grotius.

A. C. 1580.

Rebellion in
Ireland by
James Fitz-
morris.

The Roman catholics in Ireland, being excluded from offices under the government, instigated by popish priests, and encouraged by foreign potentates, were now upon the eve of a general revolt. James Fitzmorris repairing to Rome undertook to reduce the kingdom of Ireland to the obedience of the holy see, and was furnished by the pope with a small sum of money, a consecrated banner, and letters of recommendation to the king of Spain, who supplied him with a party of soldiers, and three ships, in which they arrived at Kerry. They were accompanied by the two priests, one of whom was dignified with the title of nuncio. They built a fort at Smerwick: but the vessels were destroyed by Thomas Courtney, captain of an English ship of war; and Fitzmorris was slain by his own kinsmen, the sons of W. Burgh of Castle-Conell. The rebels were joined by John and James, the brothers of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, who likewise engaged to raise his vassals for the same service. Sir W. Drury, the lord deputy, being taken ill at Waterford, the command of his troops devolved to Nicholas Malby, president of Conaught, who routed John Fitzgerald; but his commission expiring at the death of the deputy, Sir W. Pelham was appointed lord justice of Ireland, and Thomas earl of Ormond governor of Munster. The earl of Desmond declaring for the rebels, was proclaimed a traitor. His country was laid waste by Ormond, while

while Pelham marched into Munster. The principal inhabitants were obliged to give hostages for their fidelity; and the Spaniards being taken in Carig-foyle, were hanged with Julio their commander, contrary to the law of nations, and the dictates of common humanity. James Fitzgerald being defeated and mortally wounded by Donel, brother to Cormac Maccarty, was delivered to Worham St. Leger, and Walter Raleigh an officer lately sent over, then tried and executed as a traitor; while his brother the earl of Desmond fled from one lurking-place to another, suing in vain for pardon. The spirits of the rebels, dejected by this bad success, were raised by a reinforcement of seven hundred Spanish and Italian soldiers, with arms for five thousand men, who arrived at Smerwick, under the command of an officer called San Joseph. There they were besieged by the earl of Ormond, the lord lieutenant, Raleigh, Mackworth, Denny, and other officers, while a squadron of ships commanded by Winter blocked them up by sea. After a siege of five days, San Joseph, though his garrison, reinforced by the natives, amounted to fifteen hundred men, surrendered at discretion. All the Spanish soldiers were massacred, and the Irish hanged as rebels, by order of a council of war, to the eternal disgrace of the victors. At the same time an insurrection was raised in Leinster by Fitz-Eustace, and Pheogh Mac Hugh, chief of the O Byrnes. The lord lieutenant marching thither, had the mortification to see the best part of his troops cut off by an ambuscade in the vale of Glandelough: but the lord Grey suppressed the O Connors, the O Carrols, and Macgeoghans, who had engaged in a conspiracy to massacre the lord lieutenant and all the protestants in Ireland. The O Byrnes, the O Moores, and the Kavenaghs, were obliged to submit and give hostages; and Tirlogh Leinigh, who had begun to ex-

A. C. 1580. cite disturbances in Ulster, following their example,
Camden. the tranquility of Ireland was restored.
Ware.

Practices of
the jesuits
against
queen Eli-
sabeth.

Elizabeth was not free from the apprehension of seeing England involved in the like calamities. When Pacheco expelled the English fugitives from the Low Countries, the members of the colleges at Douay retired to Rheims and Rome, where they established seminaries, under the protection of the pope and the cardinal of Lorraine; and from these a number of priests were sent over to England, where they preached up sedition. Four of these emissaries were executed, for having publicly maintained that the queen had been lawfully deposed by his holiness. These examples were followed by a proclamation, enjoining all persons who had children, wards, or relations, in foreign seminaries, to deliver their names to the ordinary in ten days; to bring them home in four months; to certify the ordinary of their return; or should they refuse to come home, to withhold from them all supplies of money; to forbear maintaining, relieving, or lodging, any priest or jesuit, on pain of being reputed and punished as favourers of rebels and sedition. Among those who came over, were Edmund Campian and Robert Parsons, the first jesuits that ever set foot in England. Campian, who published a treatise called the Ten Reasons, in favour of the church of Rome, was taken and executed; but Parsons making his escape to the continent, joined the English refugees in soliciting the king of Spain to invade England. A new sect, founded by Nicholai, a Dutchman, and termed the family of Love, began at this time to gain ground in Norfolk and Suffolk: they rejected the Lord's prayer, the sacraments, and the outward admission of ministers. They confined salvation to themselves, holding all the rest of the world as reprobates: they were guilty of the most scandalous impurities and libertinism, and published

Athenae
Oxon.

apo-

apologies filled with all the absurdities of fanaticism; A. C. 1580.
 till at length a proclamation being published against
 them, they were prosecuted and suppressed. Ano-
 ther proclamation was issued to reform extrava-
 gance in apparel; and a third to prevent the increase
 of London with new buildings, the enormous bulk
 of that city being already attended with many incon-
 veniencies to itself, as well as with consequences Camden.
 to the prejudice of the kingdom in general.

In the course of this year, Francis Drake return- Francis
Drake ar-
rives from
his voyage
round the
globe.
 ed to England from a voyage in which he had encir-
 cled the terrestrial globe. He had entered the South
 sea or Pacific ocean through the straits of Magellan,
 taken a prize at Lima of immense value, discover-
 ed New Albion, sailed over to the Moluccos, and
 returned by the cape of Good Hope to his own
 country. Mendoza the Spanish ambassador com-
 plaining of his depredations, and demanding resti-
 tution of the money which he had plundered from
 the subjects of Spain in a piratical manner; the
 queen justified what he had done, by recriminating
 upon Philip, who had fomented rebellions among
 her subjects in Ireland. She said Drake was ready
 to answer at law for any thing that should be laid to
 his charge; she dined on board of the ship at Dept-
 ford, and honoured him with the order of knight-
 hood. But, notwithstanding these allegations, this
 countenance, and all his merit and success as a sea-
 officer, it must be owned that Drake had been a
 downright pyrate. The treasure was sequestered;
 and great sums were payed to Pedro Sebura, a Spa-
 niard, impowered by letters of attorney to sue for
 the prizes which Drake had taken without a com-
 mission. But this money, instead of being restored
 to the proprietors, was employed by Philip in main-
 taining the war of the Netherlands.

The pleasure which the queen enjoyed on this oc-
 casion was interrupted by the distress of the earl of A. C. 1581.

A. C. 1581. Morton in Scotland, who had always been her abject dependant. He had formed a scheme for delivering his master into the hands of Elizabeth ; but this taking air, was prevented. The queen of England perceiving that Morton's ruin was planned by the duke of Lennox, and his colleague Stuart, by this time created earl of Arran, sent Bowes into Scotland to open the eyes of the young king with respect to these favourites ; and to accuse Lennox of holding correspondence with the court of France, and with the duke of Guise in particular, to the prejudice of England and Scotland. This envoy being refused audience, was immediately recalled ; and Alexander Hume, sent to England by James to excuse his conduct, was treated with the same indignity. The Scottish council being assembled in Holyrood house, James Stuart, a younger son of lord Ochiltree, falling on his knees before the king, accused the earl of Morton of conspiring the death of his majesty's father. In consequence of this charge, Morton was apprehended, and conveyed to the castle of Dumbarton. Elizabeth no sooner heard of his arrest, than she dispatched Randolph to intercede in his behalf. This minister endeavoured to intimidate James, by representing the danger of a quarrel with England. Being allowed to harangue the states when they met, he told them, in the name of his mistress, that the duke of Lennox had endeavoured to destroy the friendly correspondence between the two nations, to alienate the heart of the king from his faithful clergy, and even practised with foreign princes to invade England. In support of this charge, he produced some letters, the forgery of which was so palpable, that nothing but his character of ambassador saved him from being sent prisoner to the castle. Thus disappointed, she engaged the earls of Argyle, Montrose, Glencairn, Angus, and Marr, in a scheme of rebellion for
the

the deliverance of Morton; an English army commanded by the earl of Huntingdon and lord Huntingdon lay ready on the frontiers to join the revolvers; but the conspiracy being discovered, Argyle, Montross, and Glencairn, returned to their duty, on promise of being pardoned: the king's guards were doubled, his troops and garrisons augmented, and his subjects ordered by proclamation to hold themselves in readiness to attend the royal standard. The English generals being apprised of these particulars, dismissed their forces in Northumberland: Angus was confined beyond the river Spey, and afterwards denounced a traitor: Marr was obliged to deliver up the castle of Stirling; other friends and relations of Morton were declared rebels. Randolph withdrew himself to Berwick: Sir John Seaton was sent to complain of his conduct, and to know if Elizabeth intended to engage in a war with Scotland; but he was detained at Berwick by an order from the court of England. Morton, being brought from Dumbarton, was tried at Edinburgh, and being convicted as an accomplice in the murder of king Henry, was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The sentence, however, was changed into decapitation, which he next day underwent with great composure, after he had owned that he knew of the king's murder, though he was not an actor in that tragedy; that the queen had no concern in the affair; and that he had signed an association for defending Bothwell, who was the perpetrator. But he would not discover the place in which his natural son James, and one Macmorran had deposited his treasure; and all the money, amounting to a prodigious sum, was lost to the nation. He died unlamented; and so little regarded, that after he was beheaded, his body lay all day upon the scaffold, covered with an old blue cloak, without attracting

A. C. 1581.

The earl of Morton is condemned and beheaded in Scotland.

Crawford.

Melvil,

A.C. 1531. tracking the compassion, or even the notice of the people. Morton being thus removed, the two favourites reigned without controul, not only over the people, but also over the mind of their sovereign, who, with some capacity and inclination for school-learning, was a silly, weak, irresolute prince, of a very despicable character. Lennox was not destitute of good qualities; but he was giddy and unexperienced, a professed Roman catholic, and a supposed adherent of the duke of Guise; so that he soon became odious to the nation. His colleague Arran was a young man void of principle and religion, who, under the masque of friendship, encouraged Lennox to follow unpopular courses, that he might incur the hatred of the people, and so contribute to his own destruction.

During these transactions, the court of France vigorously pressed the execution of the marriage between the duke of Anjou and Elizabeth. Simier having agreed with her upon the principal articles of the contract, Henry III. sent over to England a very honourable embassy; and the lord Burleigh, with the earls of Lincoln, Suffex, Bedford, and Leicester, Christopher Hatton, and Francis Walsingham, lately appointed secretary of state, were commissioned to confer with the French plenipotentiaries, so that the treaty might be brought to perfection. They accordingly agreed that the marriage should be consummated in six weeks. Among the articles to which they gave their assent, the most remarkable were these: That, in case the king of France should die without male issue, and the duke of Anjou should have two sons by this marriage, the eldest should succeed to the crown of France, and the other ascend the throne of England: in case of one son only, he should inherit both realms; and of every two years, reside eight months in England:

Articles of
the marriage
contract be-
tween Eli-
zabeth and
the duke of
Anjou.

land : That the duke should not fill up any post or office in England with a foreigner : That he should not convey the queen out of the kingdom, without the express consent of the nobles : That he should not transport the jewels of the crown to any other country : And that all the strong holds of the kingdom should be garrisoned by English troops commanded by English governors. By a separate article both parties agreed, that the queen should not be obliged to consummate the marriage, until she and the duke of Anjou should have explained certain circumstances to each other, which they should in six weeks communicate to the French monarch.

These articles were no sooner ratified, than Elizabeth seemed to repent of her bargain. In order to protract the conclusion of the marriage, she sent over Sommers to Paris, to insist upon Henry's engaging with her in a league offensive as well as defensive. This envoy was followed by secretary Walsingham, who told the French king, that, notwithstanding the treaty, it would be necessary to postpone the consummation of the marriage, until her subjects should be better reconciled to the match : and until she herself should have more maturely weighed certain circumstances of importance which had happened since the conclusion of the treaty. He observed that the duke of Anjou had accepted the sovereignty of the Low Countries ; a dignity which might involve England in an expensive war with Spain : that therefore the queen judged it convenient to delay the match, until the duke should have extricated himself from this difficulty ; and a league offensive and defensive should be concluded between France and England. To this remonstrance Henry answered, That he was ready to renew the defensive league, and would treat

The queen sends Walsingham to France to protract the conclusion of this marriage.

A. C. 1581. treat about a league offensive after the consummation of the marriage.

Strype.
Camden.
Rymer.

The duke of
Anjou ar-
rives in
England,
and is caref-
sed by Eli-
zabeth ;

who breaks
off the
match with
indignation.

Walsingham, in his return, passed through the Netherlands, and visited the duke of Anjou, who had compelled the prince of Parma to raise the blockade of Cambray, reduced Arleux, and other places, and driven the Spaniards out of the Cambresis. His troops, amounting to sixteen thousand men, consisted chiefly of gentlemen and their vassals, who engaged in the service as volunteers, without thinking themselves subject to military discipline, and dropped off occasionally, for want of pay or necessaries ; so that the duke was disabled from joining the army of the estates, which waited for him betwixt Lille and Quesnoy. He therefore posted himself under La Catelet, with the remains of his army ; and in the latter end of November, arrived at the court of London. There he was received by Elizabeth with all the demonstrations of the warmest affection. On the anniversary of her coronation, she with her own hand fixed a ring upon his finger, in token of pledging her troth, according to the contract. She even proceeded so far as to take up the pen, in order to subscribe the articles ; when all of a sudden she threw it away, with violent marks of indignation ; and, turning to the lords of the council, asked if they did not know that the marriage would put an end to her days ; and that after her death they would cut one another's throats about the succession ? Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, were averse to this match. After she had delivered the ring to the duke of Anjou, the ladies of the bed-chamber consumed the night in weeping and wailing. Next morning, when she was visited by the duke, she told him three such nights would bring her to the grave ; that the aversion of her subjects to a French prince was insurmountable ;
that

that he would derive little or no advantage from the alliance; but that in all probability it would produce great evils; and numberless inconveniencies would arise from their differing in point of religion. She was seconded by vice-chamberlain Hatton, who dissuaded him from proceeding further in the affair, as the queen, being now in the forty-ninth year of her age, was not likely to have children; and, as the king of France had not yet ratified the articles of the marriage. The duke retired to his lodgings, in the utmost mortification of disappointment; he dashed the ring upon the ground, exclaimed against the fickleness of the female sex, and cursed the inconstancy of the English people.

Elizabeth was no less afflicted with various considerations. The duke's personal accomplishments had actually made an impression upon her heart. She had conceived a passion which she was restrained from gratifying by some bodily infirmity, by the fear of disobliging her subjects, and the apprehension of parting with some share of her authority: she dreaded the resentment of Anjou, who might espouse a daughter of Spain, and multiply the dangers to which her kingdom was exposed. Such an alliance was even said to be upon the anvil; and therefore she would not allow the duke to return to the Netherlands, though the estates pressed him to go thither and oppose the progress of the prince of Parma. He was flattered with new hopes of the marriage; entertained for three months with an uninterrupted series of diversions; and at length dismissed with a considerable present in money, after he had promised to return in a month, and consummate the marriage. It was during the duke's residence at court that Stubbs, the author of the book written against the marriage, and Page the printer, were condemned to lose their right hands; and the sentence was executed on a scaffold in West-

Stubbs punished for writing against the marriage.

minster.

A. C. 1531. minister. When the right hand of Stubbs was cut off with a cleaver, he lifted off his hat with the other, exclaiming with a loud voice, "God save the queen." And the populace, in profound silence, testified their horror of this barbarity, practised upon a man of some note and unblemished reputation. This was a sacrifice offered to the resentment of the duke, who had been scandalously reviled and insulted by the English nation. But the queen, in order to convince him of the little influence he had to expect from the marriage, caused Campian, and the other priests whom we have already mentioned, to be put to death for supporting the papal authority in England.

Camden.

A. C. 1582. The parliament meeting in the beginning of January, enacted a severe law against such delinquents, declaring all those guilty of high-treason who should endeavour to alienate the subjects from their fidelity to the queen, or persuade them to abandon the established religion. Elizabeth accompanied the duke of Anjou to Canterbury. She ordered the earl of Leicester, with several other noblemen, to attend him to the Low Countries, and recommend him, in her name, to the estates of the Netherlands. He made a pompous entry into Antwerp, where he was inaugurated duke of Brabant, and afterwards invested at Ghent as count of Flanders. He was reinforced by a body of German horse, under Charles de Mansfield, four thousand Swiss, and a strong detachment of horse and foot from France; but the queen-mother gave him to understand, that this was the last supply he should receive, unless the estates would acknowledge the king of France as their sovereign, in case the duke should die without issue: a proposal which was no sooner made than rejected. The estates were even so jealous of their new sovereign, that they allowed him little or no share in the government. They managed

Duke of Anjou returns to the Netherlands, and disconcerts the affairs of the confederates.

managed the finances without supplying him with money : they disposed of all magistracies and offices : they would not admit the French troops into their towns, without the utmost precaution : and, in a word, he found himself a person of very little importance ; while the prince of Orange, and a few deputies of the estates, engrossed the whole administration. In order therefore to acquire more authority, and interest France in his behalf, he formed a scheme for making himself master of the principal towns. Some of them he surprised accordingly ; but he miscarried in his attempts on Bruges and Antwerp, lost about four thousand of his best troops, which were either slain or taken prisoners, exasperated the estates against him, and disconcerted all their affairs. A. C. 1582.
Metren.

Elizabeth, who foresaw the bad consequences of their dissension, endeavoured to strengthen herself against the designs of Philip, by forming a league of the protestant princes of the empire ; and, in the mean time, she sent the order of the garter to Frederic II. king of Denmark, a prince of great merit and reputation. She was the more solicitous about taking these precautions, as her interest had declined in Scotland since the death of Morton. She considered the duke of Lennox as an agent for the duke of Guise, and consequently an enemy to her person : she saw, with regret, the young king intirely guided by his counsels : but she was soon delivered from all apprehension of that favourite. By the instigation of Arran, he abused his power to such a degree, that he lost the hearts of the nation, and rendered himself very odious, in particular to the friends of the late regent. He recalled the laird of Fernherst, and several other persons of distinction, who had been banished for their adherence to the king's mother. He established a friendly correspondence between that princess and her son, whom she
now

A. C. 1582. now consented to associate in the government, that all disputes about the supreme authority might be removed. So far he acted wisely for the benefit and quiet of the kingdom; but at the same time he disoblged and persecuted the lords who had supported the king in his minority. At length they formed a conspiracy for expelling him from the realm. The king returning meanly attended from Athol, was seized by the earl of Marr, the lords Lindsay and Boyd, the master of Oliphant, with several other persons of distinction, and conveyed to Ruthven-castle, the residence of the earl of Gowry, who had been drawn into the plot on false information. Lennox, being at that time in Glasgow, took refuge in the castle of Dumbarton: Arran was taken and confined in Ruthven. The king being conducted to Stirling-castle, was obliged to sign a declaration, importing, that what the lords had done at the Raid of Ruthven was for his service. The duke of Lennox was ordered to quit the realm; and James wrote a letter to the queen of England, assuring her that he was not under the least restraint. Elizabeth advised him, for the peace of the kingdom, to recal the earl of Angus, and send the duke of Lennox into France. This nobleman immediately complied with his master's desire; and passing through England, returned to France, where, in a few months, he died a protestant, not without suspicion of poison.

The duke of
Lennox is
obliged to
quit Scot-
land.

Melvil.
Jebb.
Spottiswood.

The English perceiving that the authority of James began to be established in Scotland, endeavoured to keep him in awe, by renewing the treaty for his mother's release and restoration. Beale had been sent to queen Mary at Sheffield with certain propositions, to which she partly agreed: but perceiving Elizabeth's drift, and being debarred all intercourse with her son, she alarmed Elizabeth in her turn, by declaring her resolution to resign all
her

her rights and pretensions in Scotland, and elsewhere, to her son; that he might act as he should judge proper for his own interest, without being prejudiced by her captivity. In that case, she said she could be no longer charged with practices against the English government; and her enemies would have nothing upon which they could exercise their cruelty, but her poor, infirm, languishing body, worn out with hardships and affliction. It was not without reason this unhappy princess complained of hardships: She had been confined thirteen years under different keepers, and often treated in the most rigorous manner. She saw herself deprived of her crown and liberty: her youth had pined away in dreary imprisonment: her reputation had been blasted by the venomous tooth of malice and defamation: all her schemes were defeated; all her prospects of relief entirely vanished: her life was in the power of a jealous rival, who could brook no competition: her health was in a great measure impaired by confinement and vexation; yet she was denied the conveniency of having female servants to attend her in such distress †.

Melancholy
situation of
Mary queen
of Scots.

This was the forlorn situation of Mary, when she was informed of her son's captivity. Her parental tenderness awoke: she summoned all the mother, all the princess to her aid, and wrote a pathetic letter to Elizabeth, in which she upbraided her with all the miseries she had undergone; and conjured her to interpose in behalf of a prince, a neighbour, an ally, a kinsman, in distress. Elizabeth was piqued at this warm expostulation, and desired her council to deliberate upon the conditions on which she should be released. They accordingly drew up the fol-

A. C. 1583.

† In the course of this year, pope Gregory XIII. published a bull for reforming the calendar, cutting off ten days of the current year. England and other protestant estates, would not con-

form to this ordinance of the pope; so that there arose a difference of ten days, in the computation between the Roman catholic countries and those of the reformed religion.

A. C. 1583.

Conditions
offered by
Elizabeth to
that prin-
cess.

lowing articles, which were presented to Mary on the supposition that she would associate her son in the administration. The queen of Scotland, and the king, shall attempt nothing to the prejudice of England: She shall disapprove of every thing that was done by her husband Francis II. and ratify the treaty of Edinburgh: She shall discover and condemn all the conspiracies which to her knowledge have been formed against queen Elizabeth: She shall project no scheme against the government of England, either temporal or spiritual: She shall not pretend any right to the crown of England during the life of Elizabeth; and, after the death of this princess, shall submit her pretensions to the determination of parliament: She and her sons shall confirm these articles by oath and subscription; and, for the ratification of this last article, hostages shall be delivered to the queen of England. Nothing was farther from the intention of Elizabeth than the release of Mary, whom she thus amused with articles which were rejected by the Scottish lords of her interest, who had secured the person of their sovereign.

She had, when he was first seized, sent her kinsman Henry Cary to offer him her assistance; and, though he was surrounded by his captors, he found means to make this envoy acquainted with his real situation. Cary had been accompanied by the French ambassador de la Mothe Fenelon, whom his master had ordered to go thither and support the faction of the favourites, whose disaster, however, he could not prevent. The lords of Ruthven having banished one minister, and imprisoned the other, advised the king to assemble the estates, to whom he declared, in person, that he was very well satisfied with those noblemen by whom he had been conveyed to Ruthven. He wrote the same declaration to the general assembly of the kirk, which
by

by authentic acts approved of the transaction called A. C. 1583. the Raid of Ruthven. Then the greater part of the lords retired to their own houses; so that the king found himself at liberty to follow his own inclination. He convoked an assembly of his nobles at St. Andrews, where he owned that he had been apprehended for his own good, and that he would publish a general amnesty in favour of those who had conducted him to Ruthven; he even visited the earl of Gowry, who falling upon his knees before him, and imploring pardon for his share of the conspiracy, into which he had been seduced by false information of a plot hatched by Lennox against his life, the king raised him up, and assured him of his forgiveness and friendship. James afterwards nominated twelve counsellors to assist him in managing the reigns of government; but the earl of Arran, whose life Gowry had saved from the enmity of the other conspirators, being permitted to return to court, regained all his former ascendancy over the spirit of the king, who, by his advice, instead of an amnesty, published a proclamation, offering pardon to all the conspirators of Ruthven, who should come and ask pardon for the crime of which they were guilty. The lords, alarmed at this declaration, by which they were held as criminal, and subjected to the mercy of a prince governed by the very minister against whom they had transgressed, retired, some to their own houses, and others into England, for protection.

The earl of Arran regains his interest at the Scottish court.

Elizabeth reproached the king of Scotland, in a letter, for having broken his promise; and he replied, that the promise was extorted by rebels, while he was in captivity. Then she sent Walsingham, her secretary, into Scotland, on pretence of establishing a more intimate union between the two powers; but his real design was to ruin the earl of Arran, strengthen the English faction, and examine

Elizabeth sends thither her secretary Walsingham,

A. C. 1583. the young king's capacity. Fencible had carried thither his mother's resignation in his favour: and the king of France, with the neighbouring sovereigns, had, in consequence of that resignation, acknowledged him as king of Scotland: so that Elizabeth's jealousy prompted her to send her own secretary, notwithstanding his infirm state of health, to make his observations on the disposition and real state of the Scottish monarch. This English ambassador would not confer with the earl of Argyll; nor could he procure any intelligence for the lords of the Raid of Ruthven; but he had several conferences with the king, whose pregnant parts he affected to admire: he obtained a promise from James, that he would make no alteration in the established religion; distributed sums of money among the Scottish courtiers, and returning to England, gave his mistress such an account of her cousin, as for the present quieted her fears and suspicions.

Melvil.
Spottiswood.

Mediates a
peace be-
tween Rus-
sia and Swe-
den.

At this period, the king of Sweden finding himself unable to oppose John Basilowitz emperor of Russia, with whom he was at war, solicited the mediation of queen Elizabeth, who prevailed upon John to grant him peace on equal conditions. The Russian had a very particular veneration for the queen of England, and desired she would send him a wife from her kingdom: but, as he arrogated to himself the power of repudiating his consort, according to his own pleasure, no English woman would accept of the dignity. In the course of this year, Thomas Ratcliffe earl of Sussex died without issue, and Mary queen of Scots lost a zealous friend by the death of Henry Wriothesley earl of Southampton. Gerald earl of Desmond was slain in a cave in Ireland; and doctor Sanders, agent for the pope in that kingdom, perished by famine. Some part of the lands of Desmond was given by the queen

queen to his kinsman the earl of Ormond, and the rest granted to adventurers, who undertook to cultivate and improve the country. In a word, Ireland was kept tolerably quiet, by the vigilant and prudent conduct of Sir John Perrot the lord-deputy, who administered justice with the utmost impartiality.

In England the popish emissaries continued their practices against Elizabeth, whom they privately reviled as an excommunicated person, a persecutor and usurper. John Somerville, a gentleman of Warwickshire, was disordered in his brain by these insinuations; he repaired to London, breathing destruction to the protestants, and actually assaulted several persons with his sword. Being apprehended for these outrages, he confessed his design was to murder her majesty. Though the man was apparently frantic, his father-in-law, Edward Arden, a gentleman of an unblemished character, with his wife, his daughter, and one Hall a priest, were tried, convicted, and condemned, on the evidence of this lunatic, who strangled himself in prison: Arden was executed; but the two women and the priest enjoyed the queen's pardon. Archbishop Grindal, a great favourer of the puritans, dying in July, was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Whitgift bishop of Worcester, a prelate of uncommon learning, judgment, and resolution, who had already employed his talents in refuting the notions of the presbyterians, a sect of fanatics headed by one Cartwright, which was become very troublesome to the hierarchy. In the Netherlands, the affairs of the confederates declined apace. The duke of Anjou had been obliged to retire to his own country; and the prince of Parma made such progress, that the provinces were on the eve of being reduced to the dominion of the Spanish monarch. In this emergency, they expressed an inclination to acknow-

John Somerville executed for a design against the queen's life.

Dugdale.

State of France and the Low Countries.

Grotius.

A. C. 1583. ledge the sovereignty of Henry III. king of France. Philip dreading this step, endeavoured to embroil Henry in his own dominions. He exhorted the king of Navarre to take arms against that monarch, promising assistance and protection to the Huguenots : but his proposal being rejected, he had recourse to the duke of Guise, who accepted his assistance, in revenging the mortifications which he daily sustained from Henry's favourites.

Mezerei.

A. C. 1584. James king of Scotland convoked his nobility at Edinburgh, where the earl of Arran, tampering with the individuals in private, gave them to understand, that the king was sincerely disposed to pardon the lords of the Raid of Ruthven, after his own conduct should be vindicated in their being found guilty. The noblemen believing that the fugitives would receive no prejudice from an expedient contrived to save his majesty's honour, declared, in their assembly, that the king acted with uncommon clemency in granting them an opportunity to sue for pardon. When the minister had obtained this declaration of their guilt, he dissuaded his master from publishing the amnesty. He persecuted the earl of Gowry in such a manner, that he begged the king's permission to quit the kingdom : and had repaired to Dundee, in order to take shipping, when he understood that the fugitive earls of Angus, Marr, and Glamis, had concerted another scheme against the favourite. This information detained him at Dundee ; and at length he engaged in the conspiracy. The other lords coming privately from Ireland, surprised the town of Stirling ; but Gowry being apprehended by an order from court, they imagined, as he was the king's relation, he had suffered himself to be taken in order to impeach them ; and, on this supposition, they abandoned their enterprize by leaving the kingdom. The earl of Gowry was brought to Edinburgh,

burgh, where he was tried, condemned; and be-headed : and Arran still maintained his influence. Elizabeth understanding that James kept up a secret correspondence with his mother ; that through Arran's means the French interest predominated at the court of Scotland ; and dreading the thoughts of the king's marrying a foreign wife, of the Roman catholic religion, sent Davison, afterwards secretary, to engage the favourite in her interest : and he succeeded to her wish, by means that are easily conceived. Before this agent returned to England, the two courts agreed that the lord Hunfdon for Elizabeth, and the earl of Arran for James, should meet upon the border to establish proper regulations for maintaining a good understanding between the two kingdoms. There these two noblemen concluded a secret treaty, by which the earl of Arran engaged to hinder king James from marrying within the term of three years ; Elizabeth pretending she would furnish him with a wife of the blood royal of England, who was not yet marriageable.

A. C. 1584.

The earl of Gowry be-headed in Scotland.

Elizabeth sends Davison as ambassador to James.

During these transactions, lord Grey, a young Scottish nobleman of insinuating address, acquired such a share of the king's favour, that Arran became jealous of him ; and, in order to remove him from court, persuaded James to send him as his ambassador to England. He was soon gained over to the interest of Elizabeth by presents and caresses ; and affecting uncommon zeal for queen Mary, became master of all her secrets, which he communicated to the queen of England. The earl of Arran, being informed of his practices, accused him to the king ; but he acquitted himself so artfully, at his return to Scotland, that no regard was paid to the insinuations of his rival. Elizabeth's ministry was so indefatigably vigilant, that she received intelligence of every hint that was dropped in favour of the captive queen, who lived in close confinement,

Melvil.

A. C. 1584 under the eye of the earl of Shrewsbury. Francis

Francis
Throgmorton
is arrested
for cor-
responding
with queen
Mary.

Throgmorton, a gentleman of Cheshire, was taken into custody for corresponding with this unhappy princess; and Thomas lord Paget, with Charles Arundel, hearing he had made a confession, fled into France with the utmost precipitation. There they loudly complained that the catholics of England were harshly treated and ignominiously used: that tricks were invented, and snares laid for their destruction. Certain it is, very scandalous and unfair devices were practised by the queen's emissaries. Counterfeit letters were sent to the houses of papists, in the name of Mary, or the catholic fugitives abroad: spies were employed through the whole kingdom, to observe and report the words and actions of those who were suspected; all sorts of informers were credited and encouraged: many persons of distinction were imprisoned, examined, and some individuals put to the torture.

Elizabeth, understanding she was taxed with these cruelties in foreign countries, resolved to transfer the blame upon her ministry. She reprimanded her judges very sharply for having proceeded with such rigour against the catholics; and they published a justification of their conduct, affirming that no person had suffered for religion, though some had been put to the torture for machinations against the state. They owned indeed that Campian the jesuit had been racked, though not with such violence but that he had been able to walk immediately after the torture: and that Bryan, one of his accomplices, refusing to declare the name of him who wrote the letters found upon him, they had ordered him to be debarred of nourishment, until he had demanded it in writing. Nevertheless, the queen forbade them to put any person whatsoever to the torture; and released seventy popish priests who were in prison. Throgmorton, before he was arrested, had conveyed

veyed a cabinet of private papers to the hands of the Spanish ambassador Mendoza; but in his other coffers were two lists, one of the principal catholics in England, and the other of the sea-ports at which a descent might be conveniently made upon the kingdom. These he insisted upon being false and counterfeit papers, put into his coffer in order to effect his ruin: but being threatened with the rack, at his second examination, he confessed, that, when he was at Spaa, he had consulted with Jeney and Englefield, in what manner England might be the most easily invaded, and the government altered; and on that occasion the two lists were drawn up. He owned that Morgan, the English refugee in France, had assured him, in a letter, the catholic princes were resolved to invade England under the duke of Guise, in order to set the queen of Scots at liberty: that, in hope of raising money, and promoting this expedition, Charles Paget had, under the name of Mape, arrived in Sussex, where it was proposed the foreign troops should land: that he (Throgmorton) had imparted the scheme to the Spanish ambassador, with whom he had concerted a method by which the Roman catholics might levy men in the queen's name to join the foreign forces. This confession he retracted on his trial; yet nevertheless he was found guilty, though two months elapsed between his conviction and execution. In this interval, he endeavoured to obtain the queen's mercy, by subscribing his former confession; but being disappointed in his hope, he at the gallows denied every circumstance he had before confessed. Mendoza being brought before the council, and examined touching this transaction, instead of answering the questions that were put to him by the members, upbraided the queen with all her ill offices towards his master, and was ordered to quit the kingdom immediately. Elizabeth published

He is condemned and executed.

A. C. 1584.

The Spanish
ambassador
obliged to
quit the
kingdom.

Feb.
1585.

lished a declaration to justify her conduct with regard to this ambassador, and dispatched Wade with an excuse to the king of Spain, who refused him an audience. Lord Clifford, the English ambassador at Paris, demanded that Morgan should be delivered into the hands of his mistress: Henry caused him to be arrested for this purpose; but such a clamour ensued among the zealots of his own kingdom, that he would not venture to send him over, though he transmitted his papers, from which Elizabeth hoped to make important discoveries.

The queen living in continual disquiet, from the apprehension of conspiracies formed in behalf of Mary, resolved to amuse that princess and her friends with a new negotiation. Wade, on his return from Spain, was sent to tell her that Elizabeth would renew the treaty which had been interrupted, on condition that Mary would prevail upon her son to pardon the lords of the Raid of Ruthven; and that she would put a stop to the intrigues of the bishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris. Beale was sent upon the same errand, with particular instructions to discover, if possible, the nature of the correspondence which the duke of Guise maintained with Mary. She undertook to intercede for the Scottish fugitives, provided they would own themselves guilty: she confessed she had intreated the duke of Guise to use his endeavours for her deliverance; but said she was utterly ignorant of his designs, which, had she known them, she would not discover, except upon assurance of being set at liberty: in the mean time, she begged she might be treated with a little more humanity than she had hitherto experienced at the hands of her cousin. Elizabeth perceiving herself disappointed in the hope of making some useful discovery, dropped the negotiation: and Mary despaired of relief. All her friends, however, did not desist from their endeavours in her be-

behalf. One Creighton, a jesuit, in his passage to Scotland, being chased by pyrates, tore some papers, the pieces of which were gathered up and delivered to Wade, who pasted them together upon another ground, and found they contained the particulars of a design formed by the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guise, for invading England.

A. C. 1584.

Creighton's conspiracy detected.

This scheme being communicated to the ministry, the earl of Leicester set on foot a general association, obliging all the subscribers, under the most solemn vows, to prosecute to death all that should attempt any thing against her majesty. Mary considering this engagement as a previous step to her destruction, sent her secretary Nau to Elizabeth with such proposals as must have satisfied any person actuated by the dictates of justice and humanity: but the queen of England had been long resolved against releasing her upon any terms whatsoever; and upon this occasion she sheltered her cruelty under the interest of the Scottish presbyterians, who remonstrated strongly against all accommodation with Mary; while their preachers inveighed against their unfortunate sovereign, as an implacable enemy to the true reformed religion. Elizabeth also pretended to have received information of a new plot to deliver the queen of Scots; and, withdrawing her from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, committed her to the charge of Sir Drue Drury, and Sir James Pawlet, two rigid puritans, whose severity, it was hoped, would drive her to despair, or perhaps provoke her to take some rash measures, which would furnish her enemies with a sufficient handle for her destruction. The earl of Leicester being baffled in his expectation, by her temper and resignation, is said to have hired ruffians to murder this forlorn princess; but Drury was a man of too much honour to admit them into her presence. Nevertheless, she under-

General association for the defence of Elizabeth.

Camden.

went

A. C. 1554.
Hardships
inflicted on
Mary.

went the most barbarous treatment. She was now deprived of the conveniences she had hitherto enjoyed. She was prohibited from giving alms to the poor, according to custom: she was confined to two wretched chambers, in such decay that they could not screen her from the inclemencies of the weather; so that she was seized with rheumatic disorders, by which her life was endangered; and though she appealed to queen Elizabeth for redress, the winter was far advanced before she was removed to Chartley-castle.

Jobb.

State of
France and
the Low
Countries.

The prince of Parma continued to gain ground upon the confederated provinces of the Low-Countries, which sustained an irreparable loss by the death of the prince of Orange, who was treacherously shot by one Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian. His eldest son Philip being in the hands of the king of Spain, and bred in the Roman catholic religion, the states conferred the government of Holland and Zealand upon his second son Maurice, tho' he was but eighteen years of age; and the prince of Parma, taking the advantage of their consternation, invested Antwerp. In this distressed condition, they offered to acknowledge the sovereignty of the French; but Henry, being too much embarrassed in his own affairs, to accept an offer that would engage him in further trouble and expence, they had recourse to the queen of England, who likewise declined their offer, though she promised to assist them in maintaining the war against their oppressors. Henry III. of France having no issue, and being supposed impotent, the duke of Guise aspired to the crown of that realm, upon the death of the duke of Anjou, which happened in the course of this year: but as Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, was now become the next prince of the blood, Guise endeavoured to exclude him from the throne, on account of his professing the protestant religion. Henry, who per-

Contin.

perceived his drift, employed all his influence in persuading the king of Navarre to embrace the catholic doctrines, while the duke renewed the league, first in Paris, and afterwards in the provinces. Fearing, however, that the king intended to arrest him, he retired to his government of Champagne, where he engaged in a private league with the king of Spain. He durst not yet openly avow his design upon the crown; therefore this treaty imported, that the cardinal of Bourbon should ascend the throne after the death of the reigning king; and that Philip of Spain should supply him with fifty thousand crowns a month, for the accomplishment of that purpose. A.C. 1572.

In the beginning of the following year, a new conspiracy was discovered in England. William Perry, a Welshman, and member of the house of commons, had manifested his zeal for the Roman catholic religion, by singly opposing with great violence a bill that was brought into the house against the jessues. He had spoke with such indecent warmth on this occasion, that the house confined him to his lodgings; from whence, however, he was in a few days released, and resumed his place in parliament. Then it was that Henry Nevil, the pretended heir of the earl of Westmoreland, lately dead in Flanders, accused him of having conspired the death of the queen: and he was committed to the Tower on this impeachment. He confessed he had been persuaded to assassinate the queen by Morgan the English refugee in France: that he had procured admittance into her majesty's presence by discovering a feigned conspiracy; but that being struck with remorse, he had laid aside his dagger and his treasonable design: but chancing to read a book written by cardinal Allen, who maintained it was not only allowable but honourable to kill excommunicated princes, he had resolved to execute his A.C. 1573.

A. C. 1585. his former purpose : that his accuser Nevil having proposed to him some enterprize for the release of queen Mary, he answered, that he had a scheme of much greater consequence in his head, which he accordingly imparted : that they had agreed to murder her majesty, when she should ride forth to take the air ; and sworn upon the evangelists to keep their purpose secret ; but the earl of Westmoreland dying in the interim, Nevil had accused Parry, in hope of obtaining for this discovery the inheritance of the earl, to which he had some pretensions. In consequence of this confession, Parry was condemned and executed as a traitor ; and the parliament resolved to take extraordinary precautions for the safety of the queen and the realm.

Parry is executed for a design to assassinate the queen.

They forthwith enacted a statute, receiving, approving, and confirming the general association ; ordaining that four and twenty commissioners, to be appointed by the queen, should set on foot an inquiry concerning those who might endeavour to excite a rebellion, attempt any thing against the life of the queen, or arrogate any right to the crown of England ; and that any person convicted of such attempts, should not only forfeit for ever that right, whatsoever it might be, but also be prosecuted to death, by sentence of the commissioners. Another bill passed, ordaining that all Romish priests should in four days quit the kingdom, on pain of being declared guilty of high treason ; while those that received or concealed them, should be prosecuted as felons : that all the subjects of England maintained in foreign seminaries should return to their native country in six months ; and make their submission before a bishop, or two justices of the peace, on pain of being denounced traitors ; and that even this submission should be deemed null and of no effect, in case the person who made it should in ten years come within ten miles of the court : That all

con-

Severe statutes enacted against the Roman catholics of England.

convicted of having directly or indirectly remitted sums of money to foreign seminaries, should be punished with perpetual banishment, and confiscation of effects: That all persons knowing of any popish priest or jesuit concealed in the kingdom, without discovering the said priest or jesuit, within four days after the publication of this statute, should be imprisoned and fined at her majesty's discretion: That persons suspected of being priests or jesuits, refusing to submit to proper examination, should be imprisoned till compliance: That persons sending their children to popish colleges and seminaries, should be condemned in a fine of one hundred pounds, for every offence; and that the children so sent, if not returned within the year, should be incapable of succeeding to any inheritance: That no governor of any sea port town should allow any person but merchants to leave the kingdom without the queen's express commission, signed by six members of the council, on pain of being deprived of his employment; and the shipmasters receiving such passengers without this permission, should be punished with confiscation of goods, one year's imprisonment, and declared incapable of navigating any English ships for the future. This was the most rigorous statute which had been enacted against the papists since the queen's accession to the throne, and was in a great measure owing to their own restless conduct, in forming machinations against the government. As for the other law, it was evidently levelled at Mary queen of Scotland, and the effect of a resolution taken against the life of that unfortunate lady, which Elizabeth now deemed incompatible with her own safety.

In this session the puritanical members were extremely troublesome in bringing in bills and petitions for a further reformation of religion: at length they demanded a conference, which was held

A. C. 1535. held at Lambeth, between archbishop Whitgift and their ablest ministers, in presence of the earl of Leicester, and others of the privy-council, who were astonished at the weakness of the arguments used by the puritans, and endeavoured to persuade them to conformity. The commons were not more officious in point of religion, than jealous of their own privileges. Richard Cook, member for Limington, being served with a subpoena out of chancery, the house sent three other members, attended by the serjeants at arms, to signify to the chancellor, and the master of the rolls, that by the ancient privileges of the house, the members are exempted from subpoenas: the house therefore required that Cook's appearance should be discharged; and that the chancellor, and the master of the rolls, would for the future admit the same privileges for other members, to be signified to them in writing, under the hand of the speaker. Sir Thomas Bromley disputed this privilege, and a committee was appointed to search for precedents; but it does not appear that any report was made. Nevertheless, Allan Stepmith, member for Haverfordwest, being afterwards served with a subpoena, followed by an attachment from the Star-chamber, the house resolved that Anthony Kirke, who served the subpoena, was guilty of a contempt of the house, and the privileges thereof. He was committed prisoner to the serjeant; but released upon making his submission. The convocation granted a subsidy to the queen, who received another from the parliament, which she now prorogued, and afterwards dissolved.

The commons tenacious of their privileges.

D'Ewe's Journal.

Philip earl of Arundel, eldest son of the late duke of Norfolk, had embraced the catholic religion, to which he was zealously attached: he had been twice examined before the council, and confined to his own house, on suspicion of practising against the government. On the first day of this session, he with-

Withdrew in the time of divine worship; and at length resolved to retire to another country, where he could enjoy his religion in quiet. He wrote a letter to the queen, to be delivered after his departure, in which he told her, that, in order to avoid the misfortunes which had befallen his father and grandfather, he had taken the resolution to quit the kingdom, though he should never quit his allegiance. Before he could embark, he was betrayed by some of his own domestics, and sent prisoner to the Tower, which was at this time the scene of a remarkable transaction. Henry Piercy earl of Northumberland, brother of him who had been beheaded, being accused of having had some share in Throgmorton's conspiracy, and of having corresponded with lord Paget and the duke of Guise, was committed to the Tower, where, either conscious of his guilt, or foreseeing that evidence would be suborned for his destruction, he, in order to disappoint Elizabeth of his forfeiture, and retain his fortune in the family, shot himself in the breast with a pistol.

Earl of Arundel committed to the Tower.

Camden

At this period, a gathering cloud of mischief seemed to hover over the head of Elizabeth. The power of her inveterate enemy the duke of Guise daily increased. Philip of Spain, after having made himself master of Portugal, was now on the brink of subduing the revolted provinces of the Netherlands; and means were used to render James of Scotland subservient to a design of invading England. The captive Mary was the center upon which all those designs had ever turned; and therefore she was devoted to destruction. The ministry of England, in order to avert the impending danger, resolved to engage in alliances with the two northern crowns, and the protestant princes in Germany; to support the confederates in the Low Countries; to succour the Huguenots in France, so as that they

A. C. 1585.

Elizabeth
sends Wot-
ton into
Scotland.

should not be oppressed; and either make sure of the person of James, or excite such troubles in his kingdom as would render him incapable of forming schemes to the prejudice of England. Thomas Bodley was sent ambassador into Germany and Denmark, to propose a defensive alliance with Elizabeth, who, being informed that James intended to demand the daughter of his Danish majesty in marriage, resolved to use all her efforts to divert him from his purpose; for she apprehended such a marriage would diminish her influence in the councils of Scotland. She therefore sent Edward Wotton, a man of the most insinuating address, to reside with the Scottish king, as the companion of his leisure hours and amusements, that he might gain the ascendancy over the spirit of that weak prince; and he succeeded to admiration. The king of Denmark, being apprised of the Scottish monarch's intentions, sent an embassy to Scotland on pretence of demanding the restitution of the Orkney islands, which had been long ago mortgaged to the Scottish crown; but Christian's real motive for sending these ambassadors was to give James an opportunity to propose the marriage.

By this time Wotton had taken full possession of the Scottish prince. He had captivated his fancy by giving a romantic account of his travels; entertaining him with ridiculous stories of goblins and witches; flattering his vanity with exaggerated encomiums on his wisdom and learning; and attending him assiduously in all his parties of pleasure. Having thus acquired an oracular authority, he persuaded James that the king of Denmark was not of royal extraction, but descended of a race of merchants; and, for this reason, the ambassadors were treated with the most provoking contempt, until the king was undeceived by Sir James Melvil. Then they were honourably dismissed; and in a little

the time followed by Patrick Young, chaplain to James, who sent him to thank the king of Denmark for his embassy, and to see the two princesses, that he might be able to describe their persons at his return. In the interim, the earl of Arran was superseded in his influence by the master of Gray, seconded by the interest of Wotton: and an accident which happened on the frontiers, had a very bad effect upon that minister's fortune. The laird of Fernherst, who had married Arran's niece, holding a conference, according to custom, with the warden of the English Marches, an Englishman was detected in the act of stealing; and this circumstance excited a fray between the followers of the two wardens, in which Sir Francis Russel, eldest son to the earl of Bedford, lost his life. Elizabeth, who hated Fernherst for his inviolable attachment to queen Mary, and wanted a pretext for the destruction of Arran, affected to believe that the tumult was raised at the instigation of the Scottish minister; and demanded that he and his ally, the laird of Fernherst, should be delivered into her hands. Though James refused to comply with this request, he ordered the earl of Arran to be confined in his own house, and Fernherst was sent prisoner to Aberdeen. This was all the satisfaction Elizabeth could expect, considering that the affair could not easily be determined in a court of justice; because, by the mutual consent of both nations, the evidence of a Scot did not convict an Englishman; nor was an Englishman's deposition ever taken against a native of Scotland.

Sir Francis
Russel is
slain upon
the border.

Wotton having removed Arran from the Scottish court, and corrupted great part of those who were in daily attendance upon the king, resolved to seize the person of that prince, when he should ride forth a hunting, and convey him directly to England. Being disappointed in this scheme, he formed

Wotton
attempts to
carry off the
king of
Scotland.

A. C. 1585. ed a plan for forcing the castle of Stirling; but James being informed of the design, retired to Kinnardin before the scheme was ripe for execution. Wotton, finding himself detected, fled into England; Gray withdrew himself to Athole, and the earl of Arran resumed his ministry. The fugitive lords being supplied with money in England, entered Scotland, where they were joined by a strong reinforcement under lord Maxwell, and advanced to Stirling, which they entered without opposition. Arran made his escape; but they were admitted into the castle by the king, towards whom they behaved with the utmost reverence and circumspection. Such was their moderation, that they did not even take vengeance on their enemies. At a parliament held in Linlithgow, their pardons were confirmed. The Hamiltons were restored to their estates and honours, and Arran, who had decked himself with their spoils, was reduced to his primitive title of captain James Stewart*.

Melvil.

Elizabeth engages in a treaty with the states.

By this time the estates of the Netherlands were so hard pressed by the forces of Philip, that queen Elizabeth perceived the necessity of furnishing them with effectual assistance. She therefore engaged, by treaty, to succour them with five thousand foot soldiers, and one thousand cavalry, under the command of an English general; and to pay these troops during the war, on condition of being reimbursed after peace should be re-

* In the course of this year, John Davis finished his third voyage in quest of a north-west passage to the East Indies. He discovered the streight which bears his name, and sailed beyond the 83d degree of northern latitude; but was obliged to return without success.

Camden.

In the same year, the burghs of Ireland raised two successive insurrections; but were reduced by Sir John

Perrot the lord deputy, reinforced by the earl of Clanrickcard, who not only compelled them to give fresh hostages; but destroyed their allies the Hebridian Scots; three thousand of whom were cut in pieces at Ardavar; so that their countrymen were deterred from prosecuting such adventures, and Ireland for some time remained in tranquillity.

Carte.

esta-

established. In the mean time it was stipulated that A. C. 1585. she should be put in possession of Flessingham, Ram-
mikens, and the Brille, as security for the repay-
ment : that the English governors of these places
should have no jurisdiction over the inhabitants :
that the towns should be restored to the states on the
payment of the money : that the English general,
and two other persons nominated by the queen of
England, should have places in the assembly of the
states ; and that neither peace nor truce should be
made without the mutual consent of Elizabeth and
the confederates : that, in case of her sending a fleet
to sea, they should join it with a like number of
ships, to be commanded by the English admiral :
and, lastly, that the harbours of both countries
should be open to the subjects of each nation. In
pursuance of this treaty, the Brille was delivered to
Sir Thomas Cecil ; Sir Philip Sidney was appointed
governor of Flushing ; the earl of Leicester was
appointed general of the auxiliaries ; and the queen
published a manifesto to vindicate her conduct, al-
leging that the alliance between England and the
Netherlands related to the mutual welfare of both
countries, rather than to any personal connection be-
tween the sovereigns : she therefore deemed herself at
liberty to succour the people of the Low-Countries,
who were oppressed by the Spaniards. As she knew
these arguments would not be satisfactory to Philip,
she resolved to anticipate his vengeance ; and equip-
ping a fleet of twenty ships, sent them under the
command of Sir Francis Drake, to infest the Spa-
nish settlements in the West Indies. Sends Drake
to the
West Indies. In his passage
he took St. Jago, one of the cape de Verd islands ;
made himself master of St. Domingo and Cartha-
gena. Meteren. In his return through the gulph of Florida,
he burned St. Augustine and St. Helena, and touch-
ing at Virginia, took on board captain Lane and
his companions, who having been sent by Sir Walter
Raleigh to plant that colony, were greatly reduced

A. C. 1585, in point of number, and in a starving condition. They therefore took this opportunity to relinquish their infant settlement, and brought home some tobacco; a plant which had never been seen before in England.

Elizabeth not only supported the estates of the Netherlands against the oppression of Spain, but also extended her assistance to the Huguenots in France, headed by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé. The duke of Guise, covering his ambition with the pretext of religion, interested the court of Rome and the clergy in the design which he had formed for the extirpation of the protestants. He published a manifesto in the name of the cardinal de Bourbon, pretending to prove that he was next heir to the crown; while pope Sixtus V. who succeeded Gregory XIII, fulminated the thunder of the church against the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, as heretics, apostates, and the offspring of a bastard generation. These princes finding themselves thus assaulted by the duke of Guise, and abandoned by Henry III. who was obliged to join Guise for their destruction, re-assembled their troops; which, however, were so inconsiderable that they could not withstand the power of their enemies. The prince of Condé attempting to succour the castle of Angers, which Guise had besieged, was suddenly surrounded by the enemy, and escaping with great difficulty, repaired to the court of England, where he was hospitably received by Elizabeth. She knew her own interest was connected with the safety of the Huguenots; and supplied the prince with fifty thousand crowns and ten ships, by means of which he raised the blockade of Rochelle. When the earl of Leicester arrived in Holland, the estates constituted him governor-general of all the United Provinces, with an almost dictatorial power, which was by no means agreeable to Elizabeth, who perceived their aim was to engage her farther than she

Mextra's,

The prince
of Condé
arrives in
England,

Camden.

she chose to embark in their interests. The confederates had conceived great hopes from the abilities of Leicester; but they found themselves grievously disappointed in his administration, which was weak, cruel, and oppressive. Notwithstanding all his endeavours, the prince of Parma continued his conquests, reducing Grave, Nuys, and Venloo, while the English forces achieved nothing of importance. Sir Philip Sidney indeed helped to surprise Axele; but failed in his attempt upon Gravelines, and was afterwards mortally wounded in a skirmish, to the inexpressible regret of the English nation, by whom he was universally beloved and admired, as a pattern of generosity, gallantry, taste, learning, and every personal accomplishment. After an inglorious campaign, the earl of Leicester left the administration to the council of state, and returned to England in the beginning of November †.

A. C. 1586

Meteren.

During these transactions, Elizabeth sent Randolph to the court of Scotland, with proposals for an offensive and defensive league between the two nations, as a mutual security against the machinations of the catholic princes. Notwithstanding the efforts of Desneval the French envoy in Scotland, the plenipotentiaries of both kingdoms opened a

Treaty offensive and defensive with Scotland.

† On the twenty-first day of July, Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk set sail from Plymouth with two ships and a bark, passed through the straits of Magellan into the South-sea, where he plundered some small towns upon the coasts of Chili and Peru, took the rich Acapulco ship, with nineteen other prizes, and returned by the cape of Good Hope, having made the circuit of the earth in two years and two months. The success of this expedition encouraged him to undertake a

second of the same nature: but he was hindered by contrary winds from passing through the straits, and driven back to the coast of Brazil, where he died. About the same time James Lancaster and George Ryman set sail for the East Indies. Ryman with his ships was lost. Lancaster's crew was reduced to the number of thirty-three; nevertheless he returned richly laden, and his sailors were afterwards serviceable in teaching their countrymen the method of trading in the East Indies.

A. C. 1586.

congress at Berwick, where the treaty was concluded, on condition that both powers should defend the protestant religion against all its enemies in either kingdom: That, if either of the powers should be attacked, the other should give no assistance directly or indirectly to the aggressor, on pretence of any former treaty or alliance whatsoever: That, in case England should be invaded at a distance from Scotland, James should furnish the queen with two thousand cavalry, and five thousand foot soldiers, to be subsisted by Elizabeth from the day on which they should enter the kingdom of England; and that, in case Scotland should be attacked in the same manner, the queen should assist James with three thousand horse, and double the number of infantry; but in case of England's being invaded in any place within sixty miles of the border, the king of Scotland should join Elizabeth's army with all his forces: That, should England be invaded, James should prohibit the inhabitants of Argyleshire from making descents on Ireland: That the two powers should mutually deliver up, or at least expel from their dominions, the rebellious subjects of each other: That in six months they should send commissioners to the borders, to regulate and determine all differences between the two nations: That neither party should conclude any treaty to the prejudice of these articles, without the other's consent: That this treaty should be ratified on both sides by letters-patent: That it should not derogate from former treaties made between the two crowns; or from those made by either crown with other potentates, except in what concerned religion; with regard to which this league offensive and defensive should remain firm and inviolable: That this treaty should be confirmed by the states of Scotland, when the king should have attained the age of
five

Camden.

five and twenty; and in like manner it should receive the sanction of the English and Irish parliaments. A. C. 1586.

Immediately after the ratification of the league with Scotland, the English ministry discovered a conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth. Doctor Gifford, Gilbert Gifford, and Hodgefson, Romish priests of the seminary at Rheims, persuaded one John Savage that there could not be a more meritorious action than that of killing an excommunicated prince; and this mad enthusiast made a solemn vow to murder the queen. John Ballard another priest, who had been privately in England, returned to Paris, accompanied by one Maude, a secret spy of Walsingham, and exhorted Mendoza, the Spanish minister at the court of France, to promote an invasion of England, while the best of the queen's troops were employed in the Netherlands. He consulted Charles Paget on the same subject; and coming back to England, imparted the scheme to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Dethick in Derbyshire, who proposed that he, and five other stout men, should assassinate Elizabeth. For this purpose he engaged Edward, brother to the lord Windsor; Thomas Salisbury of Denbighshire; Charles Tilney, one of the band of pensioners; Chidrock Tichburne, of Southampton; Edward Abingdon, whose father had been cofferer of the household; Robert Gage, of Surry; John Travers, and John Charnock of Lancashire; John Jones; Patrick Barnwell, an Irishman; and Henry Dun, a clerk in the first fruits office. These were all bigotted Roman catholics; and admitted into their association one Dolly, who communicated all their deliberations to Walsingham, together with Savage, who had already devoted the queen to destruction. They bound themselves by an

Babington's
conspiracy.

A. C. 1536. an oath of secrecy, and were even vain enough to employ a painter to draw them in one piece, with mysterious mottos, alluding to some desperate undertaking. This performance was shewn to Elizabeth, and the picture made such a strong impression upon her memory, that she recognized Barnwell in her garden, when turning to the captain of the guard, "Am not I well guarded, (said she) "without one armed man in my company?" Babington seeing the necessity of an invasion, to facilitate the success of their measures, introduced himself to Walsingham, whom he solicited for a passport, by virtue of which he and Ballard might set out on their travels. That minister, being well apprised of his intention, promised to grant his request, the more readily as he undertook to discover the secret designs of the Scottish fugitives in France: but in a few days Ballard was apprehended. Babington, alarmed at this circumstance, directed Charnock and Savage to execute the murder with the first opportunity; yet afterwards understanding that Ballard had been seized as a popish priest, he changed his resolution, and by letters pressed Walsingham to procure the licence and release of his friend, who would be of singular service to him in executing the plan he had projected in the queen's behalf. The secretary still amused him with hopes of obtaining his desire; and, in the mean time, ordered Scudamore, his own servant, to watch him in such a manner that he should not escape. Babington discovering by accident that Scudamore was employed as a spy upon his actions, found means to escape into the fields, where he was joined by Dun and Barnwell. A proclamation was immediately issued, in which they were described, and declared traitors. They were apprehended at Harrow, in the disguise of peasants. Their accomplices likewise fell into the
the

the hands of the queen's officers. They confessed A. C. 1536. the conspiracy, pleaded guilty at their trials, and were executed, to the number of fourteen, in St. Giles's fields, their usual place of meeting.

Mary queen of Scots was charged with having carried on a correspondence with Babington, by means of Gilbert Gifford, who betrayed her letters to Walsingham. In these letters she approved of his scheme for assassinating Elizabeth, and setting herself at liberty. She advised him to form an association, but to abstain from raising an insurrection, until assured of foreign assistance; to engage in the scheme the earl of Arundel and his brothers, the earl of Westmoreland, Paget, and others; and, in order to procure her own deliverance, she directed him to overturn a cart in the gate of the castle; to set fire to the stables, or intercept her as she rode out for exercise, between Chartley, and Stafford. Immediately after the conspirators were apprehended, Sir Thomas Gorges was sent to make Mary acquainted with the transaction. He accosted her purposely when she had taken horse to ride out from the castle of Chartley, to which she never returned. She was conducted from one gentleman's house to another, until she reached the castle of Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire, where she was closely confined. Her papers were seized, and sent up sealed to court; and her money secured, on pretence of preventing its being converted to the purposes of bribery. Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, her two secretaries, were arrested and committed to prison. Upon examination, they are said to have owned a correspondence with Babington; that their mistress dictated the letters in French, which Curle translated into English, and then they were written in cypher. Attested copies of these letters were sent by Sir Edward Wotton

The papers and secretaries of Mary queen of Scots are seized.

A.C. 1561 ton to Paris, that the court of France might be convinced of Mary's being concerned in the conspiracy.

The council divided in opinion concerning that princess.

The council of England was divided in point of opinion, about the measures to be taken against the queen of Scotland. Some members proposed, that, as her health was very infirm, her life might be shortened by close confinement, so as to avoid any imputation of violence or cruelty; others insisted upon her being put to death by legal process; and the earl of Leicester proposed that she should be dispatched by poison. Sir Amias Paulet was directed to kill her without hesitation, should any disturbance happen in or near her lodgings; and, when the chimney of her chamber took fire by accident, he actually appointed four servants to be her assassins, should she attempt to make her escape.

Blackwood.

This ill-starred princess was so conscious of the danger that hung over her head, that she wrote a letter to her kinsman the duke of Guise, in which she informed him of her being accused of practising against the life of Elizabeth; protested her innocence, and affirmed that her secretaries must have been put to the torture, otherwise they could not have given evidence to downright falsehoods. Being in continual expectation of death, either by private means or public execution, she intreated her cousin to reward her poor servants for their fidelity, as she herself had been deprived of all her effects, to convey her body to France, that it might be buried near her mother at Rheims, and cause her heart to be deposited beside that of Francis II. her first husband. The ministry of England at length resolved to proceed against her by public trial; and a commission was issued to forty peers, with five judges, or the major part of them, to try and pass sentence upon Mary, daughter and heir of James

V.

V. king of Scots, commonly called queen of Scots, A. C. 1586. and dowager of France *.

Thirty-six of these commissioners arriving at Fotheringay on the eleventh of November, presented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to submit to a trial. She perused the letter with great composure; and complained that every threatened danger, either from subjects or foreigners, was imputed to her by certain courtiers, who were her mortal enemies. She wondered the queen of England should command her as a subject, whereas she was an absolute sovereign, and independent princess. She said she would never stoop to any condescension which might derogate from her royal majesty, or prejudice the rank and dignity of her own son; that the laws of England were unknown to her; that she was destitute of counsel; nor could she conceive who were to be her peers; that she was even robbed of her own papers, and no person durst undertake to be her advocate. This declaration being committed to writing, and read to her, she added, that instead of enjoying the protection of the laws of England, as Elizabeth alledged in her letter, she had been confined in prison since her first arrival in the kingdom; so that she neither derived the least benefit from the English laws, nor could she ever learn what sort of laws they were. When the commissioners pressed her to submit to the queen's pleasure, otherwise they would proceed against her as contumacious, she declared she would rather suffer a thousand

The trial at Fotheringay.

* These were the lord chancellor Bromley, lord treasurer Burleigh, the earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln; the viscount Montacute, the lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lushley, Stourton, Sandes, Wentworth,

Mordaunt, St. John of Bletso, Compton, and Cheney; Sir James Crofts, Sir Chr. Hutton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir W. Mildmay, Sir Amias Paulet; the lords chief justices Wray and Anderson; the lord chief baron Manwood, and the justices Gaudy and Periam,

Carte.

deaths

A. C. 1536. deaths than own herself a subject to any prince on earth; yet she was ready to vindicate herself in a full and free parliament; that for ought she knew, this meeting or assembly was devised against her life, on purpose to take it away under colour of legal proceedings. She exhorted them to consult their own consciences, and remember that the theatre of the world was much more extensive than the kingdom of England. At length the vice-chamberlain Hutton vanquished her objections, by representing that she injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her innocence might be proved to the satisfaction of all mankind. This observation made such impression upon her, that she agreed to appear, if they would admit and allow her protest disowning all subjection: even when they refused to allow it, she was contented with its being received and entered in writing. Then they proceeded to the trial, and serjeant Gaudy charged her with knowing, approving, and consenting to Babington's conspiracy. She denied that she had ever known or corresponded with Ballard or Babington, or had the least intimation of such a conspiracy. Babington's confession being read, in which mention was made of the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, she shed a flood of tears, exclaiming, "Alas! what hath the noble house of Howards endured for my sake!" But, soon recollecting herself, she said Babington's confession might be extorted by the rack, which was really the case; that her adversaries might procure the cyphers which she used, and forge whatever they pleased to invent to her prejudice; that it was improbable she should advise him to solicit the assistance of Arundel who was shut up in prison, or that of Northumberland, a very young nobleman, with whom she never had the least connexion. She owned that she had used her best endeavours to re-

cover her liberty, as nature herself dictates, and had solicited her friends for that purpose ; but positively denied that ever she harboured a thought against the life of Elizabeth. She observed that many dangerous enterprizes might be attempted in her behalf, even without her knowledge ; and expressed her suspicion that her cyphers and characters had been counterfeited for the purpose of taking away her life, by Walsingham and his emissaries, who she heard had already practised against her personal safety, and even contrived the death of her son. Walsingham, thus accused, rose up, and protested that his heart was free from malice ; that he had never done any thing unbecoming an honest man in his private capacity, not aught unworthy of the place he occupied in the state ; though his zeal for the queen's preservation had prompted him to sift and examine carefully all the conspiracies that were formed against her life and dignity. The queen of Scots declared herself satisfied of his innocence, and desired he would give as little credit to the malicious accusations of her enemies, as she now gave to the reports which she had heard to his prejudice. The written evidence of her two secretaries being produced, she affirmed they had been either intimidated, tortured, or bribed, into a confession of what was absolutely false : she said she was not to be convicted but by her own words or hand-writing : she desired she might be confronted with her secretaries, and observed, that were she in possession of her notes, she could answer more particularly. She demanded a copy of her protest, an advocate to plead her cause, and an impartial hearing in full parliament. Her requests were rejected ; and the court, after having sat several days, adjourned to the twenty-fifth day of October, at the Star-chamber in Westminster, when all the commissioners appeared, except Shrewsbury and Warwick.

A. C. 1586.

She is condemned,

Camden.

and her sentence published.

Nau and Curle having sworn to the letters and copies which had been produced, sentence was pronounced against the queen of Scots, for having been privy to Babington's plot; and imagined, since the first day of June, divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of Elizabeth's person, contrary to the form of the statute in the commission specified. On the same day, the commissioners published a declaration, that the sentence did not at all derogate from James king of Scots in his title and honour; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the said sentence had never been pronounced. To condemn a sovereign princess so circumstanced, against whom neither word, writing, or subscription, could be produced, on the testimony of her own servants, who were rewarded for their evidence; and without bringing those witnesses to confront her at her trial, was of a piece with that iniquity and inhuman oppression to which she had been exposed since the day of her arrival in England. The parliament meeting on the twenty-ninth day of October, approved the sentence; and, in an address to the queen, desired it might be put in execution. She expressed the utmost aversion to such violent measures; and intreated the two houses to find some expedient to save her from the necessity of taking a step so repugnant to her inclinations: but, at the same time, she informed them of a conspiracy to assassinate her within a month; so that they renewed their instances for the execution of Mary, and she affected to amuse them with mysterious answers. On the sixth day of December, the sentence against Mary queen of Scots was publicly proclaimed through the whole kingdom; and the lord Buckhurst, with Beale, was sent to notify it to that princess, and exhort her to prepare for death. When their message was delivered, she betrayed not the least emotion; but, with a chearful

a chearful countenance, thanked God that her troublesome pilgrimage would soon be at an end. Then Sir Amias Paulet ordered her canopy of state to be taken down, and divested her of all the other badges of royalty: an indignity of which she complained in a letter to queen Elizabeth, as well as of the unfair use which had been made of her letters and papers. She desired her body might be sent to France; that she might not be put to death in private; that her servants might enjoy the small legacies she should bequeath, and be suffered to depart in peace to their own country.

Henry III. of France being apprised of their proceedings against Mary, sent over Bellievre to intercede for her life with queen Elizabeth. That minister arriving in London, was admitted to an audience, and made a very strong remonstrance in favour of the captive queen. After having waited several days for an answer, he sent M. de St. Cyr to court, renewing his request for Mary's life, and desiring time to make his master acquainted with the situation of that unfortunate princess. In answer to this request, he received a verbal message, importing that the queen would wait twelve days for Henry's remonstrance. In the mean time, Bellievre being admitted to her presence at Greenwich, repeated his former arguments, to dissuade her from imbruing her hands in the blood of her kinswoman; an unhappy princess, doubly intitled to the rights of hospitality, as a guest and suppliant. He demonstrated that the execution of Mary would be an outrage against the law of nature and nations, the dictates of humanity, and the suggestions of Elizabeth's own interest; and concluded his harangue by telling her, that should she proceed to extremities of rigour, his master would resent her conduct, as an injury to the common interest of all kings, and an insult to every sovereign in particular.

The French king intercedes in her behalf.

A. C. 1586. lar. Elizabeth asking if he was charged to use such language, he answered in the affirmative. "Have you such orders under your master's hand?" (said he). He told her they were in letters written with the king's own hand: she required him to avow this assertion in writing; and he wrote without hesitation. She said she would send an ambassador to Paris to inform Henry of her resolution: when Bellievre was ready to depart, she desired he would tarry two or three days longer; at length he received his passports, and returned to the continent. Notwithstanding the earnest manner in which Bellievre solicited for the life of the Scottish queen, he is said to have exhorted Elizabeth in private to hasten the execution of that princess; and such collusion is not at all improbable, when we consider Henry's implacable animosity to the duke of Guise, the kinsman of Mary queen of Scotland.

Carte.

Du Maurier.

A. C. 1587. The ministry of England, in order to pave the way for the execution of the Scottish queen, took care to alarm the nation with false surmises of new plots, and projected invasions. One Stafford, being arrested on suspicion of treason, confessed that he had conferred with De Trappes, secretary to Chateauneuf, the French ambassador in ordinary, about hiring a desperado to murder the queen. De Trappes had set out for Dover, in hope of overtaking Bellievre with some dispatches, when he was seized upon the road, and conveyed prisoner to the Tower of London. Nothing material appearing in his papers, the council sent for Chateauneuf, and taxed him with having been concerned in a conspiracy against the queen's life. Stafford being brought before the board, insisted upon the ambassador's being privy to the design; and his evidence was confirmed by Moody, the pretended assassin. Chateauneuf owned that Stafford had mentioned some such

Stafford's plot.

such project to him; but that he had turned him out of his house, and threatened to deliver him into the hands of her majesty. The council reprimanded him sharply for having concealed such a treasonable design; and the queen complained of his conduct to Henry, by the mouth of the ambassador whom she sent to Paris immediately after the departure of Bellievre. By these complaints, and other pretences of designs formed against her life, she eluded the solicitations of Henry in favour of the Scottish queen. Stafford's plot was devised for the purpose. Rumours were raised and industriously propagated to frighten and provoke the people. A Spanish fleet was said to have arrived in Milford-Haven. It was reported that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guise had landed with an army in Suffex; that the queen of Scots had escaped from prison; that a rebellion was raised in the North; and a new conspiracy hatched to murder the queen, and burn the city of London; nay, in some counties queen Elizabeth was believed to be already murdered. Such were the arts practised by the ministry, to excite a ferment in the nation, and exasperate the subjects against the queen of Scots, as the cause of all these calamities. Camden.

James of Scotland was no sooner informed of his mother's distress, than he dispatched W. Keith, gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to spare the life of his parent, otherwise he should think himself bound by the laws of God and man to revenge her death; and beseeching her at any rate to respite the execution of the sentence, until he could send an ambassador with further propositions, which she might find satisfactory. She was seized with a transport of indignation when she perused this letter; in which James presumed to threaten her with vengeance;

A. C. 1587.

James of
Scotland
sends two
ambassadors
extraordina-
ry to Eng-
land.

geance; but her passion subsiding, she granted the desired respite. At length the master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melvil, arriving in London, proposed that their king should give the chief of his nobility as hostages, to secure Elizabeth from any future practices of his mother, who should resign her right of succession to her son: and this resignation should be guaranteed by foreign princes. These proposals the queen rejected with disdain; and, when Sir Robert Melvil begged earnestly that the execution might be deferred for a week, she answered with great emotion, "No; not for an hour." We have already observed, that Elizabeth's dissimulation failed her whenever Mary was the subject of conversation. James recalled his ambassadors in a passion, which however was soon cooled by the master of Gray, who was a pensioner of the queen of England.

Elizabeth now proceeded to act the last part of the tragedy relating to the unhappy queen of Scotland. In order to possess her people with an opinion of her clemency, and aversion to violent measures, we have seen that several noblemen had thrown themselves at her feet, beseeching her to take pity upon them and their posterity; and, by the death of Mary, provide for the safety of religion and the realm. This farce they performed before the commission was expedited. After the sentence was pronounced, she suffered herself to be twice addressed by the parliament, which even reproached her with having refused her people justice, because she delayed the execution of the sentence: she thought it necessary to circulate false reports, and alarm the nation with imaginary dangers, before she would sign the death-warrant; and, lastly, she contrived means for inspiring the people with a belief that this warrant was executed without her knowledge, and contrary to her intention.

tion. She made use of Davison as her tool on this occasion. He had been lately appointed secretary of state for the purpose. The queen, in seeming terror at those reports, which her own creatures had diffused through the kingdom, delivered to Davison an order signed with her own hand, and sealed with her own seal, to make out a warrant for the execution of Mary, under the sanction of the great seal, and to keep it secret in his own custody, until he should receive further directions. Next morning she sent two gentlemen successively, to desire that Davison would not go to the chancellor until she should see him: when he told her that the chancellor had already put the great seal to the warrant, she pretended to be dissatisfied, and asked what need there was for such hurry? The order for the execution was directed to the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, and Cumberland, who were ordered to see the queen of Scots beheaded in their presence. Davison, who was well acquainted with the real sentiments of Elizabeth touching queen Mary, communicated what had passed to the members of the privy-council, who unanimously resolved that the order should be put in execution. It was immediately delivered to Beale, who summoned the noblemen to whom it was directed, and set out for Fotheringay with two executioners.

Mary heard the death-warrant read without exhibiting the least marks of discomposure; though she expressed her surprize that the queen of England should consent to her being executed; and laying her hand on a New Testament which happened to be upon the table, she solemnly protested, that she had never devised, pursued, or consented to any design against the person of Elizabeth. She denied her having had the least concern in Babington's conspiracy; and inquiring about the fate of Nau and Curle, asked whether it had ever been

A. C. 1587.

Elizabeth
signs the
warrant for
the execu-
tion of
Mary.

That pri-
cess pre-
pares for
death.

A. C. 1587. heard of before, that servants were suborned and admitted as evidence against their master? She desired that her confessor might attend her: a favour which is granted to the worst of malefactors, tho' now cruelly denied to the queen of Scotland. After the earls had retired, she eat sparingly at supper; and her attendants weeping and lamenting her fate, she comforted them with a chearful countenance, telling them they ought not to mourn, but rejoice at the prospect of her speedy deliverance from a world of misery. The earl of Kent, who seems to have hated her with an uncommon degree of rancour, had told her that her life was the death, and her death would be the life, of the protestant religion. Mary seemed to triumph in this declaration, observing to Burgoign her physician, that it was a plain acknowledgment of her being put to death on account of religion, and not for any offence she had committed against the person of Elizabeth. After supper she reviewed her will, and perused the inventory of her effects. These she bequeathed to different individuals; and divided her money, which by this time she had recovered, into a number of little purses, and distributed them among her servants, whom she warmly recommended in letters to the king of France and the duke of Guise. Going to bed at her usual hour, she passed part of the night in uninterrupted repose; then rising, spent the remainder in prayer and acts of devotion.

and is be-
headed in
the castle of
Fotherin-
gay.

On the day of her death, which was the eighth of February, she dressed herself with equal elegance and decorum; and causing her will to be read in the hearing of her servants, desired they would take their legacies in good part, as her ability did not correspond with her wishes in their favour. When Thomas Andrews, high sheriff of the county, came to call her to execution, she was employed in prayer.

prayer. She came forth with a composed countenance, and majestic demeanor, with a long veil of linen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory. At the bottom of the stairs, Sir Andrew Melvil, master of her household, fell upon his knees, and shedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune in being doomed to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland. "Lament not" (said she) but rather rejoice, that Mary Stuart will soon be freed from all her cares. Tell my friends that I die constant in my religion, and firm in my fidelity and affection towards Scotland and France. God forgive them who have thirsted after my blood, as the harts do after the water brooks. Thou, O God, who art truth itself, and perfectly understandest the inward thoughts of my heart, knowest how greatly I have desired that the realms of England and Scotland might be united. Commend me to my son, and assure him I have done nothing prejudicial to the state or crown of Scotland. Admonish him to preserve amity and friendship with the queen of England; and see that thou do him faithful service." In this place she was received by the four noblemen, who with great difficulty were prevailed upon to allow Melvil, with her physician, apothecary, surgeon, and two female attendants, to be present at the execution. Then the noblemen and the sheriff going before, and Melvil bearing up her train, she walked to the scaffold, which was raised about two feet from the floor of the hall, and furnished with a chair, a cushion, and a block, covered with black cloth. As soon as she had seated herself, Beale began to read the warrant for her execution; then Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, standing without the rails, repeated a long exhortation, which she interrupted twice, desiring him to forbear, as she was firmly

A.D. 1587. resolved to die in the Roman catholic religion.

The lords industriously tormented this poor lady in her last moments. They ordered the dean to pray; and he proceeded, although she told them that she could not join with them, and had very little time to spare for her own devotions. She therefore, with her servants, fell on her knees, and prayed aloud in Latin, from the office of the Virgin Mary. When the dean left off speaking, she prayed again in the English tongue, fervently recommending the church, her son, and queen Elizabeth, to the protection of Almighty God. When her acts of devotion were finished, she ordered her women to undress her for the block; and the executioners rudely interfering, bade them stand off, saying, she was not used to undress herself before so much company, nor accustomed to such valets de chambre. Her two women bursting into tears, and loud exclamations of sorrow, she reminded them, in the French language, of her having undertaken for their discreet behaviour; she embraced them tenderly, bidding them forbear their womanish lamentations, for now she should rest from all her sorrows; then turning to her men servants, who were overwhelmed with unspeakable affliction, she, with a gracious smile, bade them farewell. The two executioners kneeling, and asking her pardon, she said she forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as she wished God would forgive her own transgressions. She once more made a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her eyes were covered with a linen handkerchief: she laid her head upon the block without the least mark of perturbation, recited a psalm, and having repeated a pious ejaculation, received the fatal stroke. She was cruelly mangled by the executioner, who having at length severed her head from her body, and holding it up in his hand, the dean of Peterborough exclaimed,

exclaimed, " So let all queen Elizabeth's enemies A. C. 1587.
 " perish." The earl of Kent answered, Amen; while the rest of the spectators wept and sighed at this affecting spectacle. Her women begged they might be allowed to perform the last offices to their dead mistress, offering to pay thrice the value of what remained about her breathless corpse; but their request was denied: they were roughly commanded to be gone, and the body was left to the discretion of the executioners, by whom it was indecently stripped, and carried into an adjoining room, where they covered it with a coarse russet cloth belonging to an old billiard-table. It was afterwards imbalmed, inclosed in a leaden coffin, and interred with great pomp and solemnity in the cathedral of Peterborough; from whence her son James removed it, in the sequel, to the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster. Spottiswood, Jebb,

Such was the untimely fate of Mary Stuart, a Her character.
 princess unmatched in beauty, and unequalled in misfortune. Perhaps the charms of her person, and the accomplishments of her sex, in which she far outshone all her cotemporaries, contributed as much to her ruin, as did her title to the crown of England, which is generally supposed to have been the cause of her death. Elizabeth was a woman as well as a politician. She not only dreaded Mary as the rival of her dignity, but also envied her superior qualifications. Though other motives influenced her ministry against that princess, the queen of England seems to have been in a great measure actuated by personal malice, founded upon the result of a comparison between her own character and that of the all-accomplished Mary queen of Scots. This was the original grudge upon which all her future rancour was grafted; for after Mary had been detained nineteen years in captivity; after those conspiracies which had been formed in her behalf

A.C. 1587. half by the first noblemen in England, were utterly crushed and extinguished, and Elizabeth's throne established upon universal popularity; while she lived in harmony with the king of France, found employment for Philip in the Netherlands, and her kingdom was altogether free from disturbance or commotion, we cannot suppose that she really thought herself in danger from the machinations of her prisoner. Had she been guided by political views only, perhaps she would have released the queen of Scots in the beginning of her captivity. In that case she would have been exempted from the danger of those commotions which were excited by her imprisonment; and the factions would have been continued in Scotland, where she might have easily managed both sides for her own advantage. Mary queen of Scots, bating some acts of indiscretion, excusable from her youth and inexperience, was a lady possessed of the most amiable virtues: over and above her amazing beauty, and the exquisite symmetry of her person, she was learned, penetrating, invincibly secret, liberal, charitable, unaffectedly pious, meek, affable, magnanimous, and endowed with such fortitude as no adversity could discompose.

When the tidings of Mary's death were brought to queen Elizabeth, she affected to express the utmost astonishment, with all the marks of extravagant sorrow. She commanded the members of the council to quit her presence; and Davison to be prosecuted in the Star-chamber. She wept, wailed, and lamented the hard fate of her dear kinswoman. She dispatched her relation Robert Cary with a letter to James king of Scotland, expressing her incomparable grief of mind at the lamentable accident which had happened, contrary to her intention; and professing the warmest regard and affection for him and his concerns. The Scottish king
breathed

breathed nothing but revenge against those who had brought his mother to the block. He would not admit Cary into his kingdom; but sent Sir George Hume, and the master of Melvil, to receive his letter on the border. He was not satisfied with Elizabeth's apology, nor the confinement of Davison, whom she had ordered to be prosecuted in the Star-chamber. The estates of Scotland meeting at Edinburgh, promised to assist their sovereign in revenging his mother's death, with their lives and fortunes. But the queen of England had emissaries in the court of James, who found no difficulty in appeasing his indignation. They appealed to his prevailing passions of fear and vanity. They represented the danger of engaging in a war with England, a rich, powerful nation, able to crush him in one campaign; and the folly of incensing a people over whom he had the fairest prospect of reigning, provided he should not provoke them to take some step to the prejudice of his succession. By such remonstrances, he was dissuaded from commencing hostilities, until the arrival of lord Hunsdon as ambassador from England, a nobleman for whom he had a particular regard, and by whom he was easily prevailed upon to lay aside all resolutions of revenge.

Her son
James is
soon ap-
peased.

Camden.

Davison was a sacrifice offered up to the resentment of the Scottish monarch. That secretary was accused before the star-chamber, of having contemned the queen's orders, violated his oath of fidelity, and neglected the duties of his office. He said he would rather be found guilty than presume to contest with her majesty; protested, that if he had erred, he had erred through ignorance only, and a full persuasion that what he did was agreeable to the queen's intentions. He therefore submitted to the judgment of the council, was sentenced to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and remain
in

A. C. 1537. in prison during her majesty's pleasure. He begged they would intercede in his behalf, that he might be restored to the queen's favour; which, however, he did not retrieve, but languished a long time in confinement, during which she sometimes relieved his necessities. While he remained in custody he wrote an apology, addressed to Walsingham, to the following effect: That before the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, he delivered into the queen's own hand, the order for the execution of Mary, which she immediately signed, desiring it might receive the sanction of the great seal. Then she bade him shew it to Walsingham, who was already sick, saying, in derision, he would certainly die at the sight of the warrant. She observed she had delayed it hitherto, that she might not be thought to act with violence; but there was a necessity for its being executed. She broke forth into passionate expressions against Sir Amias Paulet, and Sir Drue Drury, because they had not spared her this trouble, and desired that Walsingham would feel their pulses touching the affair. Next day, when she understood that the great seal was affixed, she blamed Davison for his precipitation, saying, a better course might be taken. To which hint the secretary replied, that the justest course was always the best. Fearing, however, that she would lay the whole blame upon him, as she had formerly imputed the death of the duke of Norfolk to lord Burleigh, he communicated the whole transaction to Sir Christopher Hatton, by whom it was imparted to Burleigh. This nobleman laid it before the rest of the council, who unanimously resolved to hasten the execution, and bear an equal share of the blame: then Beale was dispatched with the warrant and letters. On the third day after this resolution, Elizabeth relating a dream about Mary's death, Davison asked if she had changed her mind: she

Davison's
apology.

She answered, No; but another course might have A. C. 1587. been devised; and desired to know if he had received any answer from Paulet. He produced the letter, in which that gentleman flatly refused to undertake any thing which should be inconsistent with justice and honour. Then she exclaimed, in a violent passion, against the niceness of those precise fellows who promised mighty matters, but indeed would perform nothing for her safety. She accused them of perjury, in breach of their association-vow; and observed, that there were some persons who would still do it for her sake. Davison represented the injustice and dishonour of such proceedings, expatiated upon the danger that would accrue to her reputation, and told her that the council had already taken order in the affair. He likewise declared, that on the very day of Mary's death, she had chid him, because the queen of Scots was Camden. not yet executed.

The parliament meeting on the fifteenth day of February, a motion was made in the house of commons, to present an address of thanks to her majesty, for having put the queen of Scots to death: but this did not pass, because it would have fixed upon Elizabeth an imputation which she sought so eagerly to avoid. A petition, with a directory, or book of discipline, from the puritans, being presented to the house, and seconded by four gentlemen, the queen sent for the book, and committed the four members to the Tower, for having presumed to meddle in church-matters, in contempt of her repeated inhibition. A motion was made to address her for the release of the imprisoned members; but over-ruled, and they continued in confinement, until the parliament was dissolved. This severity did not hinder the commons from granting a subsidy; and afterwards a benevolence for the support of the war in the Netherlands:

A. C. 1587. she met with the like indulgence from the lords and the clergy assembled in convocation.

Rymer.

Such a supply was absolutely necessary, to prevent the ruin of the confederates in the Low Countries. Leicester, during his administration, had not only exercised the most arbitrary and despotic power, but also encouraged factions, which had well nigh destroyed the union of the provinces. Stanley and York, whom he had appointed governors of Zutphen and Deventer, betrayed their trust, and surrendered their forts to the prince of Parma; and the states fearing that all the other English governors of his nomination would follow their treacherous example, elected prince Maurice provisionally stadtholder and governor-general in his absence.

The states-general complain of Leicester's conduct.

Then they wrote a letter to Elizabeth, complaining that Leicester had issued placarts against trade, and committed their towns to the charge of suspected persons, protected traitors, and restrained the power of the states. Lord Buckhurst was sent over to compromise the quarrel: and then they extended the list of their grievances against the earl of Leicester. They taxed him with having refused instructions; nominated counsellors of state; quartered his own arms on the seal of the states; coined rose nobles, to pass for double their intrinsic value; instituted a new court of exchequer; filled the colleges of the admiralty with unqualified persons; hindered the levy of six thousand Germans; and excited the common people against the magistrates. Elizabeth was not pleased with these complaints, which produced an animosity between Leicester and Buckhurst. Sir John Norreys was recalled: the English troops were greatly diminished and starving for want of pay; Gueldres was betrayed to the enemy, and the prince of Parma had invested Sluys. The queen dispatched Leicester with five thousand men to the relief of this place, which, however, he could not succour;

cour; and therefore marched into Zealand, where he renewed his old practices, while Sluys was obliged to capitulate. The earl having rendered himself extremely odious to the people and the states of the Netherlands, resolved to employ force in the execution of his projects. His design was to apprehend and put to death John Olden Barnevelt, and thirteen other strenuous opposers of his arbitrary measures, and to seize Dort, Enckhuysen, Leyden, and other places: but his design being discovered, the queen recalled him to England, obliged him to resign his government, and sent over the lord Willoughby to command the English forces.

Camden.
Meteten.
Grotius.

Elizabeth having been apprised in the beginning of the year that Philip of Spain had begun to make preparations for invading England, sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet of ships to destroy his vessels, and intercept his provisions. This commander sunk two gallies in the bay of Cadiz, took, burned, and destroyed, an hundred vessels loaded with provisions, and munition of war, together with a galleon of fourteen hundred tons belonging to the marquis of Santa Cruz; and another of Regusa, loaden with merchandize. He then reduced three forts at cape St. Vincent, and destroyed all the boats and small craft along the coast as far as Cascaes, at the mouth of the Tagus, where the marquis of Santa Cruz lay with his squadron: but he could not be provoked to hazard an engagement. After these exploits, Drake sailed to the Azores, and in his way took the St. Philip, a carrack of enormous bulk, returning from the East Indies, richly laden. He not only gained an immense booty, but also found papers on board which served to instruct the English in the nature of the East Indian commerce.

Progress of
Sir Francis
Drake a-
gainst the
Spaniards.

Camden.

These depredations served only to stimulate Philip in his preparations for war, against Elizabeth, who had not only interrupted the trade of his subjects

A. C. 1588.

A.C. 1588. jects to the East and West Indies; but, by succouring the states, prevented him from putting an end to the troubles in the Netherlands. He resolved therefore to make a conquest of England, which being an open country, without fortified towns, must at once fall to him who should conquer in the field. He procured from the pope a consecrated banner, with fresh bulls for excommunicating Elizabeth as an heretic, publishing a crusade against her, and absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance. He pretended to be the next catholic heir to the crown of England, as a descendant from the two daughters of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster: and he determined to disembark his forces at the mouth of the river Thames, in the neighbourhood of London. For the purposes of this expedition, he equipped one hundred and thirty ships, manned with nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers, eight thousand three hundred and fifty seamen, two thousand and eighty galley-slaves, and mounted with two thousand three hundred and sixty pieces of cannon. The duke of Parma was ordered to provide transports, and an army of five and twenty thousand men, to be conveyed to England as soon as the Spanish fleet should appear on the coast of Flanders. The duke, in pursuance of his orders, caused a great number of large flat-bottomed vessels to be built for the transportation of the cavalry; provided other ships for the foot soldiers, and quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Newport; seven hundred English fugitives having enlisted under his banner, to assist in the conquest of their own country.

Precautions taken by Elizabeth, for the defence of the kingdom,

Elizabeth having learned the particulars of this formidable armament, which was stiled the Invincible Armada, took the necessary precautions for giving the Spaniards a warm reception. Having equip-

equipped a considerable fleet, she created Charles lord Howard of Effingham lord admiral of England; and he was sent with a strong squadron to the West, where he was joined by Sir Francis Drake, now appointed vice-admiral. She ordered lord Henry Seymour, second son to the duke of Somerset, to cruize along the coast of Flanders; with forty English and Flemish ships, to prevent the prince of Parma from putting to sea with his forces. Twenty thousand men were cantoned along the southern coast of England; another body of well disciplined troops encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the conduct of the earl of Leicester, whom the queen created general in chief of all her forces; and the lord Hunsdon commanded a third army, amounting to six and thirty thousand horse and foot; for the defence of her majesty's person. Arthur lord Gray, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, men renowned for their valour and experience, were consulted about the management of the war by land. In pursuance of their advice, all the landing-places on the coast were fortified and garrisoned, from Hull to the Land's end, and Milford Haven: the militia of the country was armed, and regulated under proper officers, who received instructions for interrupting the disembarkation of the enemy, wasting the country before them, and amusing them with slight skirmishes and continual alarms, until the army could be assembled at the place, in order to give them battle. The queen imprisoned some suspected papists; sent new instructions to Sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputy of Ireland; and, by her friends in Scotland, instigated James against the Roman catholics and the Spanish faction. That prince was more afraid than she, of the success of such an invasion, which would have deprived him of his fair

A. C. 1588. succession, and expose his native kingdom to the arms of a foreign conqueror. The lord Maxwell returning from Spain, landed at Kircudbright, where he began to assemble troops, as if he had expected the Spaniards would make a descent in Galloway. James being informed of these practices, marched against him with such expedition, that with difficulty he escaped in a bark; but was pursued, taken, and imprisoned.

Camden.

Fruitless
negotiations
for a peace.

Philip and Elizabeth, notwithstanding these preparations for offence and defence, endeavoured to amuse each other with a negotiation, to gain time, until the one should be able to strike, and the other to ward off the intended blow. The duke of Parma having received a commission for treating, the English envoys repaired to Ostend, although the estates of the Netherlands had refused to concur in the treaty, and the conferences were opened at Bourbourg. The English commissioners proposed a truce, which was rejected. Then they desired that the ancient alliance should be renewed between England and the house of Burgundy; that all the foreign troops should be withdrawn from the Low Countries; that the people should be secured in their liberties, and indulged with a toleration in matters of religion; and that the money which queen Elizabeth had lent them should be repayed by the king of Spain. The debates upon these articles were spun out, until the Spanish Armada appeared in the channel; and then the English commissioners were dismissed with a safe-conduct to Calais.

Alonzo Perez de Guzman, duke of Medina-Sidonia, commander of the Spanish fleet, had sailed from Lisbon on the twenty-ninth day of May, but being overtaken by a storm, the ships were dispersed; though in a few days, they re-assembled at Corunna, and in the neighbouring harbours. Effingham,

ingham, the English admiral, having received an exaggerated account of the damage received by the Spanish navy, set sail towards Spain, with a view to attack and destroy them in their harbours: but the wind shifting, he returned to Plymouth, on the supposition that they might chuse this favourable gale to enter the English channel while he was absent. This was really the case: they had probably passed him in a fog; for on the very day after his return to port, being the nineteenth of July, the Spanish fleet was seen off the Lizard, on the coast of Cornwall. The admiral forthwith ordered his ships to be towed out to sea, against a strong breeze that blew in shore; and then he descried the Armada sailing up the channel in line of battle, like so many lofty castles floating on the bosom of the sea. He allowed them to pass, that he might have the advantage of the wind, and dispatched his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Hoby, to court for a further supply of men and shipping. Upon this occasion many noblemen, and persons of fashion, distinguished themselves by fitting out ships at their own expence, and engaging as volunteers in the service of their country. Among these were the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas and Sir Robert Cecil, and the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh. On the twenty-first day of July, the admiral, seconded by Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, attacked the rear of the Armada, commanded by John Martinez de Recalde, and maintained the engagement about two hours, pouring in their broad-sides, and tacking about with admirable dexterity. They did not chuse to engage the enemy more closely, because they were greatly inferior to the Spaniards in the number of ships, guns, men, and in weight of metal; nor could they pretend to board such lofty ships, without a manifest disadvantage. Nevertheless, two Spanish gal-

The Spanish
Armada
enters the
channel.

A. C. 1588. leons were disabled and taken. On the twenty-third day of July, the duke of Medina-Sidonia bore down upon the English fleet, and both sides strove for some time to gain the weather-gage: at length the battle began, and was fought with great confusion and various success; though the loss on either side was not considerable. This engagement was followed by a cessation, because the lord-admiral could not renew hostilities, until he received a supply of powder and ammunition. On the twenty-fifth, a Portuguese galleon was taken, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of Don Diego Telles Enriquez, who brought three galleasses to her assistance. On the twenty-seventh, the Armada anchored before Calais, and were again attacked by the English fleet, now reinforced, and amounting to one hundred and forty ships, well manned and provided for action. The Spanish admiral pressed the duke of Parma for a reinforcement of forty fly-boats, that he might be the better enabled to deal with the light English frigates; and he did not doubt but by this time the Netherland forces were embarked for the descent upon England. The duke was not at all prepared to join the Armada. His vessels were leaky, and destitute of provisions; the greater part of his seamen had deserted: the troops were not yet embarked; and the harbours of Dunkirk and Nieuport were blocked up by a squadron of ships belonging to Holland and Zealand. After lord Effingham had cannonaded the Armada for some time, he prepared eight fire-ships; and at midnight sent them, under the conduct of Young and Prowse, into the midst of the enemy, where, being set on fire, they produced universal terror and confusion. The duke of Medina-Sidonia ordered his captains to slip their cables, and put to sea with all expedition. They practised this expedient, but with such disorder, that they ran foul of

each other in the dark ; and their whole navy was filled with tumult and uproar. A large galeass, commanded by Don Hugo de Moncada, having lost her rudder, next day struck upon the sands of Calais ; and was, after a very desperate engagement, taken by three English captains, who found on board a great quantity of gold, and delivered the vessel and guns as a perquisite to the governor of Calais. The English fleet taking the advantage of the enemy's confusion, engaged them with great fury, as they endeavoured to re-assemble off Gravelines. The engagement began at four o'clock in the morning, and lasted till six in the evening. The English having the advantage of wind and tide, handled them so roughly, that thirteen of their best ships were either sunk or driven ashore ; one of their galleons was taken, and another fell into the hands of the Zealanders. The duke of Medina-Sidonia being driven towards the coast of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that, as their ammunition began to fail, their ships had received great damage, and they despaired of being joined by the duke of Parma, they should return to Spain, by sailing round the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the island of Ireland. Accordingly they proceeded to the northward, and were followed by the English fleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they came up with the fugitives ; and the Spanish admiral, intimidated by the prospect of a long and dangerous voyage, would have surrendered, had he been attacked by the English navy. But a council being called by lord Effingham to regulate the particulars of the engagement, it appeared upon enquiry, that their ammunition was almost exhausted ; so that they were obliged to let the Spanish fleet proceed on their voyage, while they returned to the Downes. That very night the Armada was terribly shattered

*Meteren.
Carte.*

*where it is
defeated and
dispersed.*

A. C. 1588. in a storm. Seventeen of the ships, having five thousand men on board, were afterwards cast away upon the western isles, and the coast of Ireland. Some were wrecked on the rocks of Norway, and many perished by fire, and other accidents. Seven hundred Spaniards landing in Scotland, were treated with humanity by James; and, with the consent of Elizabeth, sent over to the duke of Parma in the Netherlands; but those who got ashore in Ireland, were butchered by the natives, or the lord deputy. Of the whole Armada, three and fifty ships only returned to Spain, in a miserable condition; and the commanders imputed their ill success to their not being joined by the duke of Parma, and their being too severely restricted to the letter of their instructions.

The English struck two medals to perpetuate the memory of the Armada's miscarriage; and the king of Spain bore his disappointment with great fortitude. He ordered a general thanksgiving to God and the saints, that the misfortune was not greater; and treated the soldiers and seamen with uncommon humanity. Nor was Elizabeth backward in acknowledging the divine protection, in public prayer and thanksgiving. She had animated the army at Tilbury with her presence; and now made a solemn procession in triumph through the city of London. She rewarded the lord admiral with a pension: she sent Sir Robert Sidney as her ambassador to James of Scotland, to thank that monarch for the alacrity with which he had offered his assistance against the Spaniards, and to amuse him with promises which were never performed: but her joy was interrupted by the death of her favourite Leicester, who was seized with a fever, and expired at Cornbury-lodge in Oxfordshire, when the patent was actually drawn for creating him queen's lieutenant, in the government of England

Death of the
earl of
Leicester.

England and Ireland. Notwithstanding her sorrow A. C. 1588. for this event, she ordered his effects to be sold at Camden. public auction, to pay his debts to the crown. After all the encomiums which have been bestowed on Elizabeth for her conduct, in the precautions taken against the Spanish armament, she certainly hazarded the safety of her kingdom, by her parsimonious disposition, and blind attachment to this favourite: for her ships were very poorly supplied with ammunition and provision; and her captain-general by land was utterly devoid of courage, conduct, experience, and discretion. Instead of protecting and securing the union of the estates of the Low-Countries, by a sage and upright administration, he had kindled dissensions among them, which were not extinguished at his death; and these prevented them from profiting by the inactivity of the duke of Parma, whilst his forces were drawn down Grotius. to the sea-ports of Flanders.

After the dispersion of the Armada, that nobleman invested Bergen-op-Zoom, which was defended by an English garrison, under the command of lord Willoughby, who acted with such vigour and intrepidity, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Before Leicester died, the puritans were by his encouragement grown to an intolerable degree of insolence. They published scurrilous libels against the liturgy and constitution of the church, and even set up the presbyterian form of discipline in several counties. In France the duke of Guise was become so powerful and popular, that he instigated the Parisians to make barricadoes in their streets, and prepare for attacking the king in his palace of the Louvre; so that Henry was obliged to quit his capital, and make a dishonourable peace with the chiefs of the league: but, in the month of December he revenged this outrage upon the duke and his brother the cardinal, whom he caused to

King of
France in-
sulted by the
duke of
Guise.

A. C. 1588. be assassinated at Blois; an act of barbarity which
 Mezerai. produced an open rebellion of the League, and the
 city of Paris.

England en-
 joys great
 tranquillity.

Elizabeth now enjoyed such tranquillity as she had not known since her accession to the throne. Her formidable rival was no more. The king of Spain was disabled from prosecuting his resentment; the affairs of the states in the Low Countries began to assume a more favourable aspect, under the wise conduct of count Maurice; and the king of Scots was entirely governed by those who received pensions from England. He had sent ambassadors to Denmark, to treat of a marriage with the eldest daughter of that monarch; but his chancellor Maitland, who was influenced by Elizabeth, limited the powers of the envoys in such a manner, that the Danish king imagining they wanted to trifle with him, bestowed the princess upon the duke of Brunswick. The queen of England had recommended the sister of Henry king of Navarre as a wife to James, who sent the lord Tunland into France, on pretence of negotiating an affair with her brother, though in reality to see and make a report of Catherine. The design of Elizabeth was to protract the treaty about this match as long as she could start objections: for she imagined that James would not be so easily managed were he once married to a woman of sense and discernment, or connected by such an alliance with a prince of power and capacity.

A. C. 1589. In the beginning of the following year, the Scottish ministry intercepted letters, by which it appeared that the earls of Huntley, Errol, Crawford, and Bothwell, son to a bastard of James V. maintained a correspondence with the duke of Parma who had supplied them with a sum of money to raise disturbances in Scotland. They had dispatched colonel Sempil to solicit Philip for another invasion. Bothwell undertook to seize the king's person; but

was disappointed; the other three advanced with a body of forces towards Aberdeen; but the king assembling a greater number of troops, they were obliged to surrender at discretion, and remained in custody, until the new queen arrived in Scotland. The king of Denmark had another daughter unmarried; and James laying aside his design upon Catherine de Bourbon, sent the earl Mareschal as his ambassador to Copenhagen, to demand this princess in marriage. Though her father was by this time dead, the treaty of marriage was concluded with the states of the kingdom; and the princess embarking about Michaelmas for Scotland, was driven by a storm into Norway. James, impatient to see his bride, sailed thither in October, attended by his chancellor, several noblemen, and a numerous retinue. The nuptials were solemnized at Upslo: they passed the winter in Denmark; set sail for Scotland in the spring, and landing at Leith in the beginning of May, the new queen was crowned in the church of Holyrood-abbey.

Camden.

James king of Scotland, espouses Anne of Denmark.

Melvil.

During these transactions, Philip earl of Arundel, a prisoner in the Tower, having expressed his joy at the arrival of the Spanish Armada in the channel, and caused a mass of the Holy Ghost to be said for its success, was now brought to his trial, convicted of high treason, and condemned. The sentence, however, was not executed, though he was detained a prisoner to his dying day; and spent his time in the most austere exercises of devotion. The parliament meeting in February, petitioned the queen to denounce war against the king of Spain, as the root and fountain of all the conspiracies and rebellions which had been hatched and raised against her majesty. To defray the expence of this war, they granted an extraordinary subsidy; and, on the twenty-ninth day of March, Sir Christopher Hatton, who had lately been appointed chancellor on the

The parliament petition the queen to declare war against Spain.

A. C. 1589. the death of Bromley, told them it was her majesty's pleasure that they should be dissolved.

Though Elizabeth was thus enabled to carry the war into Spain, she did not think proper to risque her subsidies upon the precarious issue of an expensive expedition. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, had arrived in England, and solicited her for supplies to assert his title to the crown of Portugal. As Philip continued to oppress that nation, this was judged a favourable conjuncture for raising Don Antonio to the throne. Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norreys, undertook his restoration, as private adventurers; the queen permitting them to raise forces, and equip a fleet, which was joined by six ships of her navy. The emperor of Morocco, jealous of Philip's power, promised to lend two hundred thousand crowns to Don Antonio, who sent his own son to Fez, as an hostage for the repayment of the money: but the Moor did not perform his promise, because Philip delivered into his hands the fortrefs of Arzila. Drake and Norreys having embarked about twelve thousand soldiers and sailors, set sail in April from Plymouth, with a fleet of one hundred and forty-six vessels, and landing near Ferrol, invested Corunna. They took the lower town by assault; but the upper part, situated on a rock, they could not reduce for want of artillery. The count de Andrada marching to its relief with a body of eight thousand men, they raised the siege, and attacked him at the bridge of Burgos, where he was defeated. The troops being greatly diminished by an epidemical distemper, they reembarked, and steering toward the coast of Portugal, were joined by the earl of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams with a regiment. The first had stole from court without the queen's knowledge. Landing again near Peniche, they reduced that place, and marching to Lisbon, entered the suburbs of that city; but the

Sir Francis
Drake and
Sir John
Norreys sail
upon an ex-
pedition to
Spain and
Portugal.

the town being defended by a strong garrison of Spaniards, the mortality still raging among the English troops, and not a soul stirring in behalf of Don Antonio, they proceeded to Cascaes, which Drake had taken, and having seized threescore vessels laden with corn, belonging to the Hanse towns, re-imbarked for England. In their return they plundered Vigo; and, in the latter end of June, arrived at Plymouth, without having indemnified themselves for the expence of the expedition, in which six thousand men perished by sickness.

The Hanse-towns sent ambassadors to complain of Drake's having seized their ships; but, instead of receiving satisfaction, the English ministry gave them to understand, that in the patent granted to them by Edward III. it was expressly stipulated, that they should not trade to any country openly at war with England; that provisions were contraband, and subject to confiscation; and that they had no reason to complain of the capture of their vessels, as the queen had cautioned them against importing such provision into Spain and Portugal. This year was not less remarkable in France than the former had been in England. Henry III. seeing himself in danger of being oppressed by the League, called in the king of Navarre and the Huguenots to his assistance. These auxiliaries enabled him to form the blockade of Paris, with an army of eight and thirty thousand men; and he was on the point of reducing the place, when he was stabbed by Jaques Clement, a Jacobin friar. In his last moments he declared the king of Navarre his successor; and that prince assumed the name of Henry IV. Though his Swiss troops, and some of the French nobility, took the oath of allegiance to the new monarch, he was deserted by the duke D'Epernon, and other persons of distinction: disowned by the League as an heretic, and in danger of being abandoned by the

Camden.

Henry III.
king of
France as-
sassinated,
and is suc-
ceeded by
the king of
Navarre.

A. C. 1589. the Huguenots, who perceived him wavering in his religion.

He receives
a reinforcement of
English
troops.

Mezerai.

In this emergency, he retired to Normandy with seven thousand men; the duke de Mayenne pursuing him with a numerous army. At length he was reduced to the alternative of making a stand at Arques against four times the number of his troops, or of embarking at Dieppe, and taking refuge in England. He had already solicited succours from Elizabeth; and, in hope of their speedy arrival, resolved to stand the brunt of an attack from the duke de Mayenne, general of the League, who was repulsed with considerable loss. In a little time after this action, Peregrine lord Willoughby arriving with a reinforcement of four thousand men, and a sum of money; and Henry being joined by the duke of Longueville, the count de Soissons, and the marechal d'Aumont, he advanced to Paris, and made himself master of the suburbs of that capital: but he could not reduce the city, which was defended by the army of the League, commanded by the duke de Mayenne, who had proclaimed the old cardinal de Bourbon king of France, and acted as his lieutenant. Henry abandoning his enterprize, retreated to Normandy, great part of which he subdued, together with Le Maine and Touraine; then the English troops returned to their own country.

Philip king of Spain insisted upon being declared protector of France, in consideration of the succours he had granted to the League; and his party in that kingdom was so strong, that the duke de Mayenne, not daring to oppose his demand directly, found some difficulty in delaying the nomination, until the arrival of the pope's legate, who would in all probability claim it for his holiness. In the mean time, this general recovered Pontoise and invested Meulan; the siege of which, however,
the

the king obliged him to raise. Henry, in his turn A. C. 1590. sat down before Dreux; and the duke, reinforced with two thousand Spanish horse under count Egmont, passed the Seine, in order to relieve the place. The king met him near Ivry, and an obstinate battle ensuing, gained a complete victory; He gains the battle of Ivry. after which he advanced to Paris, and tried to reduce it by famine. Thirteen thousand of the inhabitants actually died of hunger; but Henry, through a princely excess of generosity and compassion, allowed all the old men, women, and children, to pass in safety through his camp; so that the place, disencumbered of so many useless mouths, was enabled to hold out till the latter end of August, when the duke of Parma marched with the Spanish army from the Netherlands to its relief. Mezerai. His arrival obliged Henry to raise the blockade; but the duke avoided a battle, and retreated immediately to the Low Countries. Nevertheless, Camden. the king's interest gained ground; his cause was espoused by the chief of the nobility, and the League was not a little disconcerted by the death of their titular king the old cardinal of Bourbon. At the same time Henry was supplied by the queen of England with sums of money for levying German auxiliaries under the prince of Anhalt: yet she was too good an œconomist to lend money without sufficient security, if such security could be obtained. Henry's agents found means to satisfy her in this particular. In the Netherlands she possessed Ostend, besides the other cautionary towns, for the sums she had advanced to the states of Brabant and Flanders. She involved herself in no unnecessary expence: she lived in a very penurious manner; so that very few even of her own courtiers tasted her bounty; and she found means to annoy the public enemy at the expence of private adventurers. We have seen how Drake harassed the
Spa-

A. C. 1590. Spaniards, both in the European seas and in America; at this period the earl of Cumberland sailing to the Azores, took and demolished the castle of Fayal, and brought home a great number of rich prizes.

Disturbances
in Ireland.

In the course of this year, some disturbances happened in Ireland, partly owing to the ferocity of the natives, and partly occasioned by the oppressive conduct of Fitzwilliams the lord deputy. The earl of Tiroen having caused Hugh Gavilloch, the natural son of Shan O Neale, to be strangled, was summoned to England, where he obtained the queen's pardon, upon his solemnly engaging that he would live in peace with Tirlogh Leinigh, and all his neighbours; that he would not assume the title of O Neale, impose taxes, exercise any jurisdiction, intercept ammunition or provisions intended for the use of the English garrisons, nor admit into his territories monks, friars, or malcontents. This nobleman was very punctual in fulfilling his engagements, and possessed many excellent qualifications, both of mind and body. Hugh Roe Mac Mahon, a powerful lord in Monaghan, having exacted the tax called Bonaghty from the people, according to the custom of Ireland, was apprehended by order of the lord deputy, tried by a jury of common soldiers, condemned, executed, and his estate divided between some of his own sept and the English settlers. Brian O Rork, the chieftain of another powerful sept in the county of Brenn, apprehending the same fate, broke out in open rebellion; but being routed by Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, he fled into Scotland; and, being claimed by Elizabeth, was delivered into the hands of that princess, who caused him to be tried and executed at London.

Camden.

In the midst of these fortunate events, the queen sustained irreparable loss in the person of Sir Fran-

cis

ELIZABETH.

399

cis Walsingham secretary of state, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and knight of the garter : he was a consummate statesman, inviolably attached to the interest of his sovereign. He died poor, leaving one daughter married, first to Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards to Robert Devereux earl of Effex. He was survived but a very little time by Ambrose Dudley earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Randolph chamberlain of the exchequer, Sir James Crofts comptroller of the household, George Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, and Thomas lord Wentworth, formerly governor of Calais. These were all faithful servants to the crown ; though none of them was more regretted by the nation than Sir Christopher Hatton, chancellor of England, and of the university of Oxford. He was a person of great abilities, unshaken probity, firmly attached to the constitution of his country, and a munificent patron of learning. He is said to have died of grief and vexation at the severity of the queen, who insulted him with abusive language, and exacted with great rigour a debt which he had incurred in managing the tenths and first fruits. Immediately before his death, Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, three puritanical fanatics, uttered many blasphemous and treasonable expressions against God and the queen ; the first was tried, condemned, and executed ; Coppinger starved himself to death in prison ; but Arthington was pardoned upon his recantation. That the Irish subjects might no longer be tempted to send their children to foreign seminaries for education, the queen founded Trinity-college in Dublin, endowing it with a power of conferring degrees, and other privileges of an university.

A. C. 1590.

Death of
Walsingham,

and other
remarkable
mea.

A. C. 1591

The lord Thomas Howard having failed to the Azores, in hope of intercepting the Spanish plate fleet in its passage from America, was almost surpris'd by Alphonso Bassan, who commanded three and fifty ships

Lord Thomas
Howard fails to
the Azores.

A. C. 591. ships destined for its convoy. Howard stood out to sea with five ships of his squadron; but Sir Richard Greenville in the vice-admiral called the *Revenge*, was surrounded by the whole enemy's fleet. He endeavoured to fight his passage through them, and maintained a desperate engagement for fifteen hours, during which he was boarded by fifteen galleons successively. At length his crew being almost killed or disabled, his masts shot away, his hull pierced by eight hundred cannon-balls, his powder spent, and himself covered with wounds, he ordered the gunner to blow up the ship, that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The execution of this order was prevented by the lieutenant, who capitulated for the life and liberty of the crew, giving hostages for the payment of their ransom; and Greenville being brought on board of the Spanish admiral, died in three days of his wounds. The Spaniards were amazed and confounded at his excess of valour, which cost them two thousand men, who perished in the engagement: two of their largest galleons were sunk; two of them turned adrift as unserviceable; and the Indian fleet being dispersed in a storm, some of the ships fell into the hands of the English.

*Gallery
of captain
Greenville.*

Camden.

Elizabeth was not more attentive to the means of distressing the Spaniards at sea, than vigilant in checking Philip's progress on the continent. The duke de Mercœur, of the house of Lorraine, reduced the province of Brittany, with the assistance of the Spaniards, who took possession of Hennebont and Blavet. Philip either intended to dismember the kingdom of France, or procure the crown for his daughter Isabel, as grandchild of Henry II. notwithstanding the Salique law. Pope Sixtus V. favoured this project; and nothing prevented its being put in execution but the jealousy of the duke de Mayenne, who did not chuse to labour for the

the advantage of a foreigner. Henry IV. found himself in the utmost perplexity. He was under the necessity of conquering all France, and the catholic noblemen in his army served him with reluctance; nay, even upon the express condition that he should be instructed in such a manner as would induce him to change his religion. In this necessity of his affairs, he had recourse to Elizabeth, and the protestant princes in Germany. The queen promised to supply him with succours, on condition they should be used to drive the Spaniards from the maritime provinces of France opposite to the coast of England. Though it was Henry's interest to expel them first from the center of his dominions, he promised to comply with her proposal; and she engaged by treaty to supply him with three thousand men, stipulating, that within one year she should be reimbursed for the expence of their levy, transportation, and subsistence. In pursuance of this convention, she sent part of these succours into Brit-

A. C. 1598.

Rymer.

Elizabeth sends succours to Henry of France.

tany, under the command of Norreys, and the rest into Picardy with Sir Roger Williams. Henry at the same time negotiated for eleven thousand men with the elector of Brandenburg, and Casimir prince Palatine; but all these auxiliaries being insufficient for his purposes, he demanded a second reinforcement from the queen of England, on pretence of investing Rouen. She was so anxious to see the Spaniards driven from the maritime places, that she obliged herself by another treaty to supply the French king with four thousand men for this service. She bestowed the command of these forces on the earl of Essex, who had succeeded Leicester as her majesty's chief favourite. When he arrived in France, he found Henry employed in the siege of Noyon, and resolved to send the English auxiliaries into Champagne. He therefore returned to England, after having promised to return, in case

A. C. 1591. Rouen should be invested; and left the command of his forces to Sir Roger Williams.

She is incensed against that prince,

Elizabeth was incensed to find herself thus duped by Henry, to whom she wrote a letter, upbraiding him with breach of promise, and threatening to recall her troops from his dominions. Alarmed at these menaces, the French king ordered the marshal de Biron to invest Rouen; and this step furnished him with a pretext for demanding a further reinforcement from England, alledging that the last was considerably diminished by sickness and desertion. The earl of Essex, mean while, no sooner understood that the siege of Rouen was undertaken, than he embarked for France, contrary to the express order of the queen, which he thought could not absolve him of his promise. From this instance of disobedience, she conceived such a disgust both at the earl and Henry, that when the French ambassador solicited her for the reinforcement, he was dismissed from her presence with a very rude answer; and she sent Leyton, uncle to Essex, with an express order, commanding that young nobleman to return immediately, on pain of her highest displeasure. Henry understanding that the duke of Parma had begun his march from the Netherlands, repaired to his army before Rouen, in order to forward the operations of the siege, and dispatched Du Plessis Mornay to press queen Elizabeth for the reinforcement. That princess told the ambassador, that she would no longer be a dupe to the French king, nor assist him in any shape but with her prayers; that she had sent him auxiliaries for the siege of Rouen; but that, instead of undertaking that enterprize, he had amused himself elsewhere, and given the duke of Parma time to come to the relief of that city. She inveighed bitterly against Essex, saying, he wanted

Mesmeri.

Mem de Plessis.

to

to make the world believe that he governed Eng- A. C. 1591.
 land; but that nothing was more false, and she
 would make him the most pitiful fellow in the
 whole kingdom. Far from sending another body
 of troops into France, she swore she would recall
 those that were already sent; and dismissed de Plessis,
 on pretence of being indisposed. He then
 presented a memorial, which she desired him to
 deliver into the hands of the treasurer. In a word,
 he returned without success; and Essex was obli-
 ged to come home, where he soon appeased the
 queen's indignation. In the mean time the duke
 of Parma marching into France, and being joined
 by the dukes of Mayenne and Guise, advanced to
 Rouen, the siege of which Henry was obliged to
 abandon at their approach. The duke reduced A. C. 1592.
 Caudebec: but the king could not draw him to
 an engagement. At length he retreated through
 Champagne to the Low-Countries, and in Decem-
 ber died at Arras. Henry having cut off all com-
 munication with Rouen by the river Seine, dismis-
 sed the greatest part of his forces, and the English
 auxiliaries returned to their own country.

Henry now bent all his endeavours to be recon-
 ciled with the queen of England, who sent him a
 new reinforcement of two thousand men; and be-
 ing extremely uneasy at the neighbourhood of the
 Spaniards, who had taken possession of Brittany,
 engaged in a new treaty, importing, That she should
 supply him with four thousand men, some pieces
 of artillery, and a certain quantity of ammunition,
 on condition that the English forces should be join-
 ed by four thousand French foot soldiers, and one
 thousand cavalry, to be destined for the recovery of
 Bretagne: That the French king should reimburse
 her in one year: That he should not make peace
 with the Leaguers, until they should engage to join
 him in driving the Spaniards out of the king-
 dom:

with whom
 however,
 she engages
 in a new
 treaty.

A. C. 1593. would enable the king to levy forces, and expel the rebels from the kingdom. James was so wretchedly poor, that he could neither keep a table, nor maintain a guard for the defence of his person. He therefore became an importunate beggar with the estates of the Netherlands, as well as with the queen of England, who, though she sometimes parted with trifling sums, was too penurious to supply him with a sufficiency for his occasions. Melvil did not succeed in his negotiation: and Bothwell returning privately to Scotland, tampered so effectually with the duke of Lennox, the earl of Athol, the lord Ochiltree, and other enemies of chancellor Maitland, that they introduced him into the king's bedchamber, where falling on his knees, and imploring his majesty's forgiveness, he was pardoned at the request of the English ambassador. This pardon, however, as the effect of compulsion, was annulled by the convention of the estates, though he was promised to be indulged with an abolition of all his past treasons, if he would sue for it within a certain time, and then quit the kingdom. Bothwell, dissatisfied with these conditions, renewed his former practices against the king's person, but miscarried in his attempts. A subsequent convention passed an act for the more firm establishment of the protestant religion in Scotland; and the catholic lords were summoned, either to comply with the doctrines of the kirk, within a limited time, or quit the country.

Calderwood,
Spottis-
wood.

Proceedings
in parlia-
ment.

The English parliament meeting in the month of February, took cognizance of a book written by one Parsons a jesuit, endeavouring to prove that the right of succession to the throne of England was legally vested in the infant of Spain. This performance was condemned by the parliament, which declared, that all persons keeping it in their houses should be deemed guilty of high-treason.

The

The puritans having grown intolerably insolent and troublesome, were now laid under severe restrictions, by an act for retaining the queen's subjects in their due obedience. This law decreed, that all persons above the age of sixteen, absenting themselves from church for a month, should be imprisoned, until released in consequence of their public declaration of conformity. They were obliged to conform within three months after conviction, or abjure the realm; otherwise they were liable to be punished as felons, without benefit of clergy. The statute, though enacted seemingly against the Roman catholics, was principally levelled at the Puritans; and indeed equally affected all non-conformists. The commons granted a large supply, in consideration of the great expence to which the queen had been exposed, for the defence of England against the Spanish invasion, as well as for the support of the French king and the United Provinces; but this subsidy was granted with a clause, importing, that it should not be drawn into precedent: two subsidies were likewise voted by the clergy in convocation.

This generosity of the parliament and clergy consoled Elizabeth in some measure for the mortification she underwent from the conduct of Henry king of France. That prince, instead of using the English auxiliaries for expelling the Spaniards from Brittany, employed them only as a check upon those invaders, while he exerted his chief endeavours in other parts of his kingdom: so that Elizabeth would have recalled her troops, had not she been diverted from her purpose by the intreaties and remonstrances of the marechal d'Aumont, who assured her, in his master's name, that a powerful effort would soon be made for the reduction of Bretagne. At this period Henry finding it impossible to reduce the kingdom of France to his obedience,

A. C. 1593.

Henry of
France pro-
fesses the
Roman ca-
tholic reli-
gion.

while he professed the protestant religion, and being hard pressed by his Roman catholic friends, renounced the reformed doctrines, and declared himself a convert to the church of Rome. The queen of England was no sooner informed of this event, than she wrote a severe letter, upbraiding him with his apostacy; which he frankly imputed to the necessity of his affairs. But, notwithstanding Elizabeth's resentment, she consented to engage in a new league offensive and defensive with Henry, when she understood that the king of Spain intended to make a powerful effort to support the League; and this alliance was actually concluded at Meun, in the month of October, stipulating, that no peace should be made with Spain, without the mutual consent of both parties. Elizabeth then recommended the protestants to the protection of Henry, and proposed Brest as a place of retreat for the English forces, and cautionary town for the repayment of the money with which she had supplied him in his necessities; but this security he carefully evaded. The queen, to secure herself still more effectually from the insults of the Spaniards, ordered the isles of Scilly to be fortified and garrisoned; while Jersey and Guernsey were secured in the same manner. The English fugitives still continued to plot against Elizabeth and her government. One Hesketh, at their instigation, exhorted Ferdinand earl of Derby to assume the title of king, as grandson of Mary, daughter to Henry VII. He assured the earl he should be powerfully supported by Philip of Spain; and threatened, in case of his declining the proposal, and revealing the scheme, that he should not long enjoy his life. The earl immediately informed against Hesketh, who was condemned accordingly: but his threats were certainly executed upon the earl, who in a few months died of poison.

Camden.

The

The death of the duke of Parma did not wholly put a stop to the intended invasion of France. The Spanish army entering Picardy, reduced Noyons, and then marched back to the Low Countries. The count de Fuentes, and Don Diego d'Ibarra, who were now at the head of the Spanish affairs in the Netherlands, not only fomented the troubles in Scotland, by feeding the malcontents of that kingdom with promises of succour; but they resolved to take off Elizabeth by poison. For this purpose they corrupted Roderic Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, who was one of her physicians, with a bribe of fifty thousand crowns. The design being discovered by intercepted letters, he and two of his accomplices were apprehended, and confessed the nature of their correspondence with Fuentes and Ibarra. At the place of execution, Lopez declared that he loved the queen as well as he loved Jesus Christ; an expression, which coming from the mouth of a Jew, excited the mirth of the spectators. At the same time, Patrick Cullen, an Irish fencing-master, was convicted of having been sent from the Low Countries to assassinate the queen; Edmund York and Richard Williams were likewise apprehended, as ruffians suborned by Ibarra for the same purpose. Elizabeth wrote a letter to Ernest archduke of Austria, by this time appointed governor of the Low Countries, desiring he would punish the authors of such treachery; and demanding that the English fugitives concerned in such designs should be delivered into her hands. But she had very little reason to expect any satisfaction on this head, as she herself protected Antonio Perez, late secretary to Philip, who had excited some commotions in Aragon, and fled to England, where he was entertained and caressed by the earl of Essex.

Scheme to
murder the
queen.

The affairs of the French king began to take a more favourable turn immediately after his conversion.

A. C. 1594.

A. C. 1594. fion. Meaux, Orleans, and Bourges, submitted. He reduced La Ferte Milon, and was crowned at Chartres. Then he published an amnesty, was joined by a great number of gentlemen who deserted the League, admitted into Paris, and proclaimed at Rouen. He concluded an accommodation with the dukes of Lorraine and Guise; and all the principal towns in the heart of France declared for their lawful sovereign. The marechal d'Aumont having taken the town of Morlaix in Brittany, the duke de Mercœur, and John d'Aguilar, who commanded the Spanish auxiliaries of the League, advanced to the relief of the castle: but the marechal being joined by the English troops under Norreys, they would not hazard a battle; and the castle surrendered. After this conquest, the marechal reduced Quimpier, and took Crodon by assault. Sir Martin Forbisher was mortally wounded on this occasion. The English troops behaved with such gallantry in this war, and were so forward in exposing themselves to the most imminent dangers, that Elizabeth, in a letter to Norreys, desired he would not be so lavish of the blood of her subjects.

Elizabeth presses James of Scotland to enact laws against the Roman catholics.

This princess, understanding that there was a party at the court of Scotland which favoured the Spaniards, sent thither the lord Zouch to observe their motions, and keep James steady to the interest of England. This ambassador represented, in the queen's name, that the Roman catholics of Scotland enjoyed in public the exercise of their religion, and openly corresponded with the king of Spain. James replied, that he would act against them according to the laws of the land; and, if they would not submit to the laws, he would pursue them by force of arms, provided the queen, who was as much interested as himself, in the

the success of the war, would contribute to the expence. Lord Zouch still pressing him to enact severer laws against them, the king, answered, with some emotion, that the queen of England had no right to command him, or prescribe the rules by which he should govern his own kingdom. Then he demanded that she would deliver up Bothwell, who had again taken refuge in England. Far from giving him that satisfaction, she in all probability furnished Bothwell with means to return and raise four hundred men, with whom he surprised Leith. Then he published a manifesto, declaring, that he was come to join divers noblemen and others, in expelling those evil counsellors who favoured the designs of the Roman catholics, and the Spanish invasion. The citizens of Edinburgh taking arms against him, he retired towards Dalkeith, and routed the lord Hume, who commanded the advanced guard of a body of forces headed by the king in person: but, not daring to stand the brunt of a general engagement, he dismissed his troops, and took refuge once more in England. James immediately dispatched two envoys to complain to Elizabeth of Bothwell's being still harboured in her dominions; to assure her he would proscribe the persons, and confiscate the lands of the popish lords; and to desire a supply of money in the mean time. She promised to comply with his request, and forthwith published a proclamation, forbidding her subjects to give shelter to the earl of Bothwell. The Scottish parliament meeting in May, pronounced sentence of forfeiture against the three popish earls, and the laird of Auchindown: but the execution of the sentence was deferred on the account of the baptism of Henry prince of Scotland. Elizabeth sent the earl of Sussex as ambassador-extraordinary to attend

A. C. 1594. attend at this solemnity, at which also were present the envoys of Denmark, Brunswick, Mecklenburgh, and the United Provinces.

Mean while Bothwell engaged in association with the popish lords ; and having received a share of some money remitted from Spain, undertook to raise such a commotion in the southern parts of Scotland, as would prevent the king from prosecuting his northern expedition against the outlawed noblemen. His design was to seize and confine James in the castle of Blackness ; the governor of which was James Cochran, who had joined in the conspiracy, which was accidentally discovered by intercepted letters. Cochran was arrested, condemned, and executed. The earls of Argyle, Athol, and others, marching with five thousand men against the proscribed lords, were met in Baddinoch by Huntley, who defeated them with great slaughter. Then the king himself took the field, and advanced as far as Aberdeen, where, understanding that the earls of Errol and Huntley had retired to Sutherland, he ordered the duke of Lennox to pursue them with a body of forces. This service he performed with such vigour, that the enemy was reduced to extremity, and offered to lay down their arms, provided they might be allowed to quit the kingdom. Their request was granted ; and they went into perpetual exile. Bothwell finding himself totally abandoned by his old and new accomplices, fled into France, and afterwards retired to Naples, where he died in great indigence, professing the Roman catholic religion.

Camden.

Bothwell and the popish lords obliged to quit that kingdom.

Melvil. Spottiswood.

Inceded as Elizabeth was against the Spaniard, for his unceasing endeavours to distress her and her allies, she would not expend her subsidies in the operations of an offensive war, but, annoyed the enemy by granting commissions to private adventurers, who acted against them at their own expence.

pence. Richard Hawkins, thus authorized, sailed ^{A. C. 1594} with three ships towards the streights of Magellan. One of his vessels was casually burned, and another quitted him on the coast of Brazil. Nevertheless, he sailed into the South-sea, where he took several prizes; but was at length attacked by a strong squadron, which compelled him to surrender upon articles of capitulation. James Lancaster took nine and thirty Spanish ships, on the coast of Brazil, and made himself master of Fernambuco, where he loaded fifteen vessels with sugar, and the cargo of a rich carrack which he found in the place: then returned to England with an immense booty. ^{A. C. 1595.} Sir Walter Raleigh being forbid the court, for having debauched a maid of honour, whom he afterwards married, undertook a voyage to Guiana, took the city of St. Joseph, sailed up the river Oroonoke in quest of a gold mine, which, however, he could not find; so that he was obliged to return without success, after having lost the best part of his men by the unhealthy climate. He made another voyage at his own expence, and miscarried as before. Elizabeth, encouraged by the success of her subjects, sent a strong fleet, under Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, with a body of land forces, commanded by Sir Thomas Baskerville, to seize a vast treasure which had been brought to Porto Rico for the use of Philip. They arrived in safety at St. Domingo; but their design being accidentally discovered, the Spaniards fortified the harbour of Porto Rico in such a manner, that when they attempted to force it, they met with a severe repulse. Hawkins dying after this miscarriage, they sailed to the continent, where they burned Rio de la Hacha, Santa Martha, and Nombre de Dios. They made an effort to march across the isthmus of Darien to Panama; but met with so many difficulties that they abandoned the enterprise,

A. C. 1595.

Death of
Sir Francis
Drake.

Camden.

Philip ex-
cites a fresh
rebellion in
Ireland.

prise, and resolved to attack Porto Bello. Before this scheme could be executed, Sir Francis Drake died of a dysentery, and the fleet returned to England.

Philip of Spain retorted those hostilities by exciting a fresh rebellion in Ireland, under the conduct of Macguire and Mac-Mahon. Sir W. Ruffel had been sent over to succeed Fitzwilliams as lord deputy; and the earl of Tyrone having been accused of corresponding with the rebels, pleaded his own cause so effectually, in a visit to the new governor, that he was dismissed as a loyal subject. Notwithstanding his professions, he attacked the fort of Black-water, in the absence of the governor; and being declared a traitor, openly joined the rebels, whose forces in Ulster and Connaught amounted to near ten thousand horse and foot, commanded by experienced officers, who had served in the Low-Countries. Elizabeth, alarmed at this formidable rebellion, recalled Sir John Norreys, with a body of veterans, from Brittany; and these being joined with a reinforcement in England, were sent over to Ireland to crush the rebels before they should receive the succours they expected from Spain. When Norreys advanced to Armagh, Tyrone abandoned the fort of Black-water, reduced the town of Dungannon and the neighbouring villages to ashes, and was driven almost to despair, when the want of provisions compelled the English general to retire, after he had left garrisons in Armagh and Monaghan. Nevertheless, Feagh Mac-Hugh, chief of the Byrnes, submitted to the lord deputy; and Norreys agreed with Tyrone and O Donel for a truce till the end of December. This introduced a treaty or negotiation with the rebels, who demanded a general amnesty, the free exercise of their religion, the restitution of their estates, and an exemption from all garrisons and imposi-

tions.

A. C. 1596.

tions. The queen offered to pardon them for their rebellion, provided they would dismiss their forces, repair the forts they had demolished, restore the effects they had seized, admit garrisons, sheriffs, and other officers, and discover their transactions with foreign princes. They rejected these proposals, tho' the truce was prolonged to April. The queen would have repaired their losses. but would by no means indulge them with a toleration. Tyrone in the mean time treated with Philip as well as with Elizabeth, and cunningly transmitted to the lord deputy the letters which he received from that monarch. These he presented as proofs of his loyalty to Elizabeth; though his aim was to deceive the vigilance of the deputy, and enhance the opinion of his own importance. Before the truce expired he capitulated with Norreys, and delivered hostages, in consequence of a pardon for himself and his accomplices: yet he refused to take the oath of allegiance. The rebels in Connaught submitted on the same terms: but this peace was of short duration. O Donel ravaged the country: Feagh Mac-Hugh, at the instigation of Tyrone, renewed the rebellion in Leinster, and surprized the fort at Balencore; but he was soon routed and slain, together with George and Peter Butler, nephews to the earl of Ormond, whom Feagh had persuaded to join in the revolt. Tyrone attacked the garrison of Armagh; but afterwards made an apology for this act of violence, and proposed a new conference with the lord deputy, for a full and final composition. His aim being only to amuse him; this conference was postponed from time to time, and at last the design was wholly laid aside. The progress of the rebels was in a good measure owing to a jealousy that subsisted between Russel and Norreys; and Tyrone did not fail to take the advantage of their misunderstanding.

Camden.

A. C. 1596.

The French king is distressed by the Spaniards.

Henry IV. of France was reduced to great perplexity by Elizabeth's recalling her troops from Brittany. He had declared war against Spain, and Philip sent the constable of Castile into Franche-Comté with an army of eighteen thousand men: at the same time the count de Fuentes, who now commanded the Spanish forces in the Low Countries, entered Picardy, reduced Catelet, and defeating the French army at Dourlens, took the place by assault. Henry being apprized of these unfavourable events, dispatched Chevalier to the court of England, to solicit an immediate reinforcement for the preservation of Picardy. Elizabeth offered to send a body of troops to garrison Calais, Boulogne, and Dieppe; but Henry did not chuse to trust her with the keeping of these places. After the reduction of Dourlens, the Spaniards invested Cambray, and Henry sent over Lommenie his secretary of state, to press the queen of England for a speedy reinforcement, which she refused to grant; so that the place was surrendered to the enemy. She was loth to part with her money, and greatly disgusted at Henry for having neglected to drive the Spaniards from Brittany. It was not without reason she disliked their settlement in that province. They actually equipped a fleet, and made a descent upon Cornwall, where they plundered and burned several villages: but they retreated to their ships, without having done any considerable damage. The French king was extremely chagrined at the repulse he had sustained from Elizabeth; and many members of the council advised him to make a separate peace. He complained still more loudly of the United Provinces, which, though in alliance with him, had taken no step for the relief of such a considerable place. They derived incredible advantage from the war between France and Spain; and therefore appeased his warmth with a round sum of money,

Mexerau.

Camden.

money, a couple of complete regiments, and a large quantity of corn. A. C. 1596.

The queen of England was no sooner informed of this transaction, than she sent Sir Thomas Bodley to demand of the states the repayment of the money with which she had supplied them in their distress. Though they had actually grown rich during the war, they pleaded inability, exaggerating their losses at sea, the inundation of their country, and the great expence which they had undergone in equipping fleets to join her navy against the Spaniards. She would not admit of their excuses, alledging, that if they had money to give away to the king of France, they surely could not be incapable of paying their just debts. She upbraided them with their ingratitude; and reminded them of the deplorable situation in which they were when she generously took them into her protection. They might have justly told her, that the assistance they had received was more owing to a sense of her own interest, than the motives of generosity and compassion; and they might have pleaded the condition of the loan, by which she was not intitled to a reimbursement until the war should be finished: but they deprecated her wrath by submission; and obtained a respite, by furnishing her with four and twenty ships well manned, and provided for five months, to join her navy in an attempt against the Spaniards. During these transactions, the cardinal Albert of Austria succeeding his brother Ernest in the government of the Low Countries, threw a reinforcement into La Ferre, which Henry IV. besieged in person, and then invested Calais. The French king immediately dispatched Sancy to England for succour: he was followed by the marechal de Bouillon, who importuned Elizabeth so industriously, that she ordered eight thousand men to be levied and sent over, under the command of Essex;

The queen demands a reimbursement of the states-general.

Elizabeth levies forces for the relief of Calais, which is taken by the archduke Albrecht.

A. C. 1595. but, before they could embark, the place surrendered, and the troops were dismissed, though she supplied Henry with a sum of money on the credit of his two ambassadors.

The queen being apprised of Philip's great preparations against England or Ireland, equipped a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships, including those that were sent by the states-general. Robert earl of Essex, and Charles Howard lord admiral of England, who had expended vast sums on this occasion, were appointed chiefs of the armament, though with different commands; the admiral directed the operation at sea, and the earl conducted the forces at their landing. The fleet was divided into four squadrons, of which the third was commanded by the lord Thomas Howard, and the fourth by Sir Walter Raleigh. Having received their instructions, they set sail from Plymouth in the beginning of June: and, on the twentieth day of that month anchored near St. Sebastian's chapel, on the west side of the island of Cadiz. The Spanish ships of war retiring into the Puntal, were next day attacked by the English; and the engagement lasted from break of day till noon, when the enemy seeing their galleons miserably shattered, and a great number of their men killed, resolved to set fire to their vessels, and run them ashore. The Spanish admiral, called the St. Philip was burned, together with three others that lay near her; but the St. Matthew and St. Andrew were saved and taken. Immediately after this action, the earl of Essex landed at Puntal with eight hundred men, and advanced against a body of five hundred Spaniards, who retreated into Cadiz at his approach. These were so closely pursued, and the inhabitants were in such confusion, that no steps could be taken for the defence of the place, until the English had burst open the gate and entered

tered the city. After a short skirmish in the streets, the assailants made themselves masters of the market place, and the garrison retired into the castle; though they soon capitulated, on condition that the inhabitants should have liberty to depart with their wearing apparel, and all their other effects be distributed as booty among the soldiers; that they should pay five hundred and twenty thousand ducats for the ransom of their lives, and send forty of their chief citizens to England, as hostages for the payment of the money. The earl of Essex being now entirely master of the place, turned out all the inhabitants, and loaded the ships with the money and rich effects which the soldiers had not yet taken in plunder. Mean while admiral Howard detached Sir Walter Raleigh to burn the merchant ships which had retired to Port-Real. Two millions of ducats were offered as their ransom; but he rejected the proposal, observing that he was come to burn, not to ransom their ships. The duke of Medina-Sidonia, however, found means to unload some, and set fire to others, that they might not fall into the hands of the English. Besides the loss which their merchants sustained in this expedition, the king lost two galleons, thirteen ships of war, and four and twenty vessels laden with merchandize for the Indies, over and above the ammunition which he had provided for his design upon England. The earl of Essex was of opinion, that Cadiz ought to be kept as a thorn in the side of the Spaniards, and offered to remain in person for its defence: but the majority being impatient to return to their own country with the booty they had obtained, his motion was over-ruled, and they set sail for England, after having set fire to the town and adjacent villages. When they arrived at Faro in Algarbe, they found the place deserted, and all the effects removed. The fleet being afterwards

A. C. 1596.
Cadiz taken
by the earl
of Essex.

A. C. 1596. driven out to sea by a strong northern gale, Essex proposed to make an attempt upon the Azores; but no body seconding the proposal, except the lord Howard, they returned to England, enriched with the spoils of the enemy. Essex, however, had the mortification to find that Sir Robert Cecil, son to the lord-treasurer, had in his absence been appointed secretary of state; an office to which the earl had strongly recommended Sir Thomas Bodley, who had been sent as ambassador to the Low-Countries. His chagrin was still augmented by the queen's appointing Sir Francis Vere governor of the Brille; a place of trust which Essex solicited for himself.

Camden,

The queen
renews her
demands
upon the
states gene-
ral.

Elizabeth, though she had a particular attachment to the person of Essex, payed very little regard to his recommendations, partly because she looked upon him as an impetuous youth, without experience and discernment; and partly because he was privately opposed by old Cecil, who had long served her with the utmost fidelity, was close, careful, penurious; and, in a word, a minister after her own heart. It was by his suggestions that the queen became so importunate with the states of the Netherlands for the payment of the debt they had contracted. They were sufficiently able to discharge this obligation; but they considered the debt as a tie which connected Elizabeth more firmly to their interest; and therefore were extremely averse to part with this bond of union. When she renewed her demands, they sent deputies to London, to make fresh remonstrances; they offered to pay two hundred thousand florins yearly, either for her life, or during the war, and four millions in as many years after the peace should be concluded. She refused to close with this proposal; the deputies returned, and the affair was postponed to further consideration.

Not-

Notwithstanding the disgust which Elizabeth had conceived against the French king; and that prince's resentment of her refusing to succour Calais, their mutual interest was so inseparably connected in the war with Spain, that they agreed to open conferences for a treaty, which had been proposed before the Spaniards had reduced the towns in Picardy. The duke of Bouillon was sent over to assist Sancy in the negotiation; and English commissioners being appointed to treat with them, the league was soon concluded, on condition that Elizabeth should furnish four thousand men for the defence of Picardy and Normandy: That the king of France should supply her with the like number, in case her kingdom should be invaded; and that neither party should make peace without the other's consent. The states-general acceded to this treaty; though their admission was retarded by the jealousy of Elizabeth, who pretended that they had no right to accede as a sovereign power, but merely as associated towns under her protection. At length the French king prevailed upon her to wave this distinction.

A new treaty between France and England. Mezerai.

Philip of Spain, exasperated by the conduct of Elizabeth, and the losses he had sustained from the arms of her people, resolved to make another effort for the conquest of England. He assembled a formidable fleet at a time when the queen thought him utterly disabled from executing any scheme of revenge; and this navy having taken land-forces on board at Fariola, steered its course for England; but was dispersed by a violent storm, which rendered it altogether unserviceable for that season. The king of Spain had begun to treat privately of a separate peace with Henry; but the negotiation was altogether interrupted by the success of Porto-Carrero, governor of Dourlens, who found means to surprise Amiens; though this advantage did not

A. C. 1597.

A. C. 1596. Philip continues his intrigues in Ireland. recompence Philip for the defeat of his troops at Turnhaut by prince Maurice. Nevertheless depending upon a separate peace with France, he determined to make a descent upon Ireland, where he still fomented the discontent of the natives; but his fleet was again dispersed and disabled. Almost all the native Irish in Ulster and Connaught being encouraged by his emissaries with hope of assistance, had risen in arms; and Thomas lord Burrough was sent over by Elizabeth with the commission of lord deputy. Tyrone endeavoured to amuse him with excuses, professions, and proposals; but, instead of suffering himself to be cajoled by that crafty rebel, he marched against him and took the fort of Blackwater; then he returned to Dublin, where he died; and Thomas earl of Ormond was constituted lieutenant-general of the army. This nobleman advanced against Tyrone; but his troops being in a miserable condition, he agreed to a truce for a few months, during which he expected to receive a reinforcement from England.

The earl of Essex sails upon an expedition to the Azores.

Elizabeth now resolved to make an attempt upon Tarcera, the principal island of the Azores, and, if possible, intercept the Spanish fleet in their passage from the West-Indies. Five thousand soldiers were embarked in a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships; and to these were added five and twenty Dutch ships, under the command of admiral Warmout, having on board one thousand English veterans from the Low-Countries, headed by Sir Francis Vere, governor of the Brille. The chief command of this armament was conferred upon the earl of Essex. The lord Montjoy was his lieutenant for the land-forces; and his second and third squadrons were conducted by lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh. He was instructed to destroy the Spanish fleet at Ferrol, and then proceed to the Azores. He sailed from Plymouth on the
tenth

tenth day of June, but the fleet was scattered by a violent tempest, and the ships were obliged to put in at different ports of England; though, in a few days, they rendezvoused at Plymouth. They sailed again in August, and were damaged in such a manner, by another storm, that they laid aside their design upon Ferrol, which was by this time strongly fortified, and proceeded directly to the Azores. Raleigh being parted from the other admirals, arrived at Flores, and sailing to Fayal, in quest of the earl of Essex, took that town before he joined the general, who resented his acting without orders; but was pacified by Raleigh's submission. The earl proposed to wait at the island of Graciosa for the Indian fleet; but was persuaded by a pilot to sail for the isle of St. Michael, where he would find a safer harbour. He had not sailed two hours from Graciosa, when the plate fleet arrived at that island; and being informed of the English armament, steered directly for Tercera, where they anchored under the town of Angra, and castle of Brasil. They passed in the night through a small squadron of four ships, commanded by Sir W. Monson, who dispatched a vessel with intelligence to the earl of Essex: but they were posted in such a manner, when that nobleman came to observe them, that it was judged impracticable to attack them, without the utmost danger; and all their treasure was by this time sent on shore. He had, however, taken three vessels which had straggled from the fleet. He now sailed back to St. Michael, and made himself master of Villa Franca, where he found a considerable booty, and store of refreshment for his people. Raleigh, mean while, drove ashore, and destroyed an Indian carrack. Then the earl set sail for England, and arrived at Plymouth in the latter end of October. The lord treasurer had resigned the place of master of the court of wards, in favour of his son Sir Robert;

Camden.

A. C. 1597. bert; and Essex complained that old Cecil had taken the advantage of his absence. The earl was likewise mortified to see the admiral created earl of Nottingham, so as to precede him in rank; but he received some satisfaction in being promoted to the honour of earl marshal of England.

Dispute between Elizabeth and the Hanse towns.

We have already observed, that the Hanse towns had complained that the English fleet had seized their ships at Lisbon. As they were not satisfied with Elizabeth's answer, they appealed to the diet of the empire, and obtained a decree, prohibiting the English to trade in the dominions of Germany. The English merchants were driven from Hamburgh, and other Hanse towns; and Sigismund king of Poland sent over an ambassador to England, to demand the ships belonging to his subjects, which had been taken in Portugal. This envoy, in a Latin oration, spoke in very high terms, and even threatened the queen with his master's resentment. Elizabeth answered him extempore, in the same language, telling him his master was a raw, hot-headed, young prince, who did not know the nature of such negotiations; and that he himself was a pedant, ignorant of mankind, and unacquainted with the rules of decorum. She justified her conduct by the law of nations; said the king of Poland was impertinent to mention and boast of his alliance with the houses of Austria and Spain; observing that she was very little obliged to the first, and had set the other at defiance. The dispute between England and the Hanse towns became so serious, that Elizabeth issued a proclamation, inhibiting them from trading to her dominions, and ordering the lord-mayor to dispossess them of the steelyard. The towns on the other hand resolved to form an association to prevent the English from trading to Germany and Poland; but this confederacy was prevented by Sir George Carew, who being impowered

ed to offer an enjoyment of their ancient privileges, as an indulgence from the crown of England, and a free traffic to Spain with corn, and all other commodities, except naval stores, the magistrates of Dantzick refused to send deputies to the congress at Lubec, and all differences were compromised between the citizens of Elbing and the English factory. Rymer. Camden.

- It was the fate of Elizabeth to be continually wrangling with her allies, because they were in continual want of her assistance, which she seldom granted, except upon such terms as they could not easily observe. Henry IV. being greatly incommoded by the Spaniards, since they had made themselves masters of Amiens, resolved to retake that city, and summoned the queen of England to send over the four thousand men stipulated in the last treaty. She consented to his request, on condition that he would pay them while they should be in his service; but, this being a condition which he could not easily fulfil, he endeavoured to extort her compliance by alarming her jealousy. He gave her to understand, that he had it in his option to make a separate peace with Philip, who had offered to restore all the towns he had taken but Calais and Ardres, provided he would detach himself from the interest of England. This expedient answered his purpose. Elizabeth desired her ambassador to tell him, that she could not persuade herself he would violate the treaty, to the observation of which he had so solemnly sworn: and that he might be encouraged to fulfil his engagements, she sent over her troops, with a round sum of money. By virtue of this supply, he was enabled to carry on the siege of Amiens, which surrendered to him in September. Then the private negotiations between him and Spain were renewed; and the principal articles were settled before he dropped the least hint of peace to his allies. Henry of France treats privately with Philip. D'Ewa.

The

A. C. 1597. The queen, however, discovered these practices, at which she was not a little alarmed. The parliament meeting on the twenty-fourth day of October, she gave them to understand, that she had expended in the wars of France, Flanders, Spain, and Ireland, above three times the amount of the subsidies she had received. The commons and convocation indulged her with a considerable supply; and the parliament was dissolved in February.

A. C. 1598. Sir Robert Cecil was dispatched to France to know upon what footing Henry treated with Spain; and that prince owned that Philip had made such offers as he could not refuse with any regard to the welfare of his people. He promised, however, that he would employ all his influence in obtaining honourable and advantageous terms to the queen of England and the states-general. As he expected nothing but reproaches from his allies, he resolved to spare himself the mortification of bearing them in his own person; and therefore appointed commissioners to treat with the English and Dutch ambassadors. At this conference, Barnevelt, one of the Netherland envoys, summoned Henry, though absent, to answer on his conscience, whether or not he thought it was beneath the honour of a prince to abandon his allies in such a manner. Cecil spoke with great freedom on the same subject; and demanded that the peace might be deferred until he could receive new instructions from his mistress. The two ambassadors even offered, in the name of their constituents, to furnish him with ten thousand infantry, and one thousand horse, to be maintained by England and the Netherlands through the whole course of the war, provided Henry would renounce his treaty with Philip, and engage with them in a perpetual alliance. The chancellor of France expressed the utmost gratitude for the succours the king had already received; and excused his

his master's conduct from the necessity of his affairs. A.C. 1558.
 In vain did Elizabeth upbraid him in a severe letter with his ingratitude and perfidy: he still persisted in his design, to give peace to his country. The negotiations were carried on at Vervins; and on the twelfth day of June, the peace was ratified by Henry; after he had delayed it for a few weeks, in order to save appearances. Then he declared he would procure an honourable peace for his allies, and exhorted them to take this opportunity of treating with Philip under his mediation. Peace between these two powers.

Elizabeth immediately sent Sir Thomas Vere to know the resolution of the states-general. She was already determined to maintain the war, by which alone she thought Philip would be so much employed in the Netherlands, that he would not find it practicable to execute his schemes against England. But, she affected a strong propensity to peace, alledging that she could no longer bear such a heavy burthen. The states, whose safety in a great measure depended upon her friendship and alliance, were so alarmed at her declaration, that they agreed to such terms of a new league as she thought proper to propose. The treaty was accordingly concluded, on condition, That the states should give security for the payment of eight millions of florins, to which she limited her demands: That one half of this sum should be liquidated during the war, by certain annual payments; and that the restitution of the places which were in the hands of the English, together with the payment of the other half, should be amicably settled after the establishment of the peace: That the queen should furnish eleven hundred and fifty men to garrison different fortresses, and be paid by the states; That for the future, the queen should stand discharged of the engagement to furnish any other auxiliary troops; but, that the English who either were at that

Mestral.

A new treaty between Elizabeth and the states-general.

A. C. 1598. that time, or might be in the service of the states, should take the oath to the said states, be maintained by them, and obey their generals: That the power of the deputy of England, stipulated in the former treaty, should be abolished; though the queen reserved to herself the liberty of sending one person to sit in their council: That when she should be engaged in war against the common enemy, whether offensive or defensive, the states should furnish her with forty or fifty ships of war, five thousand foot soldiers, and five hundred cavalry. About this time the earl of Cumberland returned from the West-Indies, where he had taken Porto Rico, and sent away the inhabitants, that he might convert it into an English settlement; but having lost a great number of men by the dysentery, he re-embarked his people for England, having reaped very little fruit from his expedition, in which he had plundered Lancerata, one of the Canary islands.

In the last voyage of Sir Francis Drake, one Squire had been taken by the Spaniards, and persuaded by Walpole, an English jesuit, to attempt the lives of the queen and the earl of Essex. He furnished him with a poisonous powder, to be sprinkled upon the earl's chair and the queen's saddle; and Squire, at his return to England, tried the experiment, without effect. Walpole supposing that Squire had deceived him, as Elizabeth and Essex still continued in good health, sent over a person in revenge to accuse Squire; who being apprehended, confessed the whole affair, and was executed as a traitor. Elizabeth never thought herself safe from such attempts during the life of Philip II. king of Spain, who now died in the sixty-second year of his age, after having reigned two and forty years, during which he had embroiled all Europe by his ambition, and lost the seven United Provinces by his cruelty, bigotry, and arbitrary

Death of
Philip king
of Spain.

adm.

administration. The fire of rebellion which he A. C. 1598. kindled in Ireland continued to burn violently, even after his decease. The earl of Tyrone had again rebelled, defeated and slain Sir Henry Bagnal, and reduced the fort of Black-water. Though his progress was checked by the arrival of Sir Samuel Bagnal, with a reinforcement from England, all Connaught revolted; and a rebellion was raised in Munster, by Owny Macroryage and Sir Thomas of Desmond. They drove the English settlers from their houses and plantations, and invested Kilmallock; but, the earl of Ormond advancing with a body of forces, compelled them to raise the siege, put Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal in a posture of defence, exacted hostages from the chieftains: then marching into Leinster, he routed a body of the rebels, and relieved the castle of Maryborough.

Camden.

Elizabeth consulting with the earl of Essex and the admiral about the choice of a proper person for the administration of Ireland, Essex recommended Mr. George Carew, in opposition to Sir George Knolles, whom, however, the queen preferred to his competitor. The earl was so provoked at her slighting his recommendation, that he turned his back upon her in contempt; and she, incensed at his insolence, gave him a box on the ear, bidding him go and be hanged. Essex laying his hand upon his sword, swore he would not have taken such an affront from Henry VIII. and retired from court in a transport of passion. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his friends, he for some time breathed nothing but revenge and defiance; but at length his passion subsiding, he was pardoned, and received again into favour. In the midst of these broils, the lord treasurer Burleigh died in extreme old age, having preserved his influence to the last moment of his life, against all the intrigues of

The queen strikes Essex.

A.C. 1598. of Leicester, Essex, and other persons who shared the queen's favour. He was one of those cold, plodding, illiberal barons, who think honesty and plain-dealing are incompatible with the art of government. He had ordinary parts, was capable of incredible application, and inculcated upon Elizabeth the maxim which influenced her whole conduct; namely, that it was her interest to keep all the states of Christendom embroiled by domestic dissensions. He was an excellent minister for the revenue, which he managed with equal frugality and address. In his private behaviour he was close, covetous, ill-bred, and ungracious. He died unregretted by the people, and was succeeded in office by the lord Buckhurst.

A.C. 1599. The rebellion continuing still to rage in Ireland, the queen and council deliberated upon the choice of a proper person to send over as lord-deputy, and the majority inclined to Charles Blount, lord Montjoy; but Essex objected to him as a nobleman of little experience, and, without an open declaration, gave them to understand, that he himself was desirous of the office. He was accordingly appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, with a more extensive commission than ever had been granted to any of his predecessors; and setting out immediately for his government, arrived in Dublin the seventeenth day of April. Instead of advancing directly against Tyrone, according to the instructions he had received, he marched into Munster, where, having reduced the castle of Cahir, received the submission of the inhabitants, and performed some inconsiderable exploits against a body of the rebels, he returned to Dublin in the latter end of June, after having lost a great number of men by sickness and fatigue. The queen being informed of his transactions, wrote a severe letter, reproaching him with his contempt of her orders. He excused himself by
say-

The earl
of Essex ap-
pointed lord
deputy of
Ireland.

saying he had followed the advice of the council of Ireland, and promised to march into Ulster against Tyrone: nevertheless he turned his arms against the O Moths and O Conners in Leix and Ossaly; and by that time he returned from this petty expedition, his forces were so much diminished, that he demanded a reinforcement of one thousand men from England. In the mean time he ordered Clifford, governor of Connaught, to make a diversion on the side of Belick, where he was routed and slain by O Rourke. Essex, having received a supply of troops from England, marched against Tyrone to the borders of Ulster, and obliged him to retire into woods and fastnesses. Then that rebel craved a parley, which he obtained at Louth, where both parties agreed to a cessation for six weeks, to be renewed occasionally for the same term, or vacated on a fortnight's notice from either side. Having concluded this inglorious truce, he marched back to Dublin, where he understood the queen was greatly incensed against him, for having presumed to disobey her orders a second time. He therefore resolved to return to England, even without leave, to counter-work the efforts of his enemies at court; and his departure is said to have been hastened, by false reports of the queen's being dangerously ill and despaired of by her physicians. These rumours were industriously circulated by his adversaries, who, at the same time, stopped all ships but those that carried this intelligence. The friends of Essex advised him to land in Wales with the Irish army, which was at his devotion; but he rejected this counsel, and leaving the administration of Ireland in the hands of the lord chancellor Loftus and Sir George Carew, set sail for England with a very small retinue.

Elizabeth had received such bad impressions of him from his enemies, that she now began to suspect

A. C. 1599. pect him of designs upon the crown, and made preparations for her own safety. On pretence of having received intelligence that the Spaniards were employed in equipping a powerful fleet against England, she granted commissions for levying six thousand men, and bestowed the command of them upon the lord admiral, who was no friend to Essex. She ordered the train-bands of London to be armed and exercised. Chains were drawn across the principal streets of London, and the gates were strongly guarded, as in times of the most imminent danger: but, when she understood by letters from Ireland, that the earl of Essex had no intention to bring over the forces, she disbanded the new levies, and the citizens were released from such severity of watch and discipline. Essex meanwhile landing in England, with the earl of Southampton, and some other officers, posted immediately to court, which was then at Nonsuch, about ten miles from London; and, without shifting his dress, or cleansing himself from the soil of his journey, went directly to the queen's bed-chamber, where he found her majesty just risen, with her hair hanging over her eyes. He kneeled and kissed her hand; and after some private conversation, returned to his own apartment, flushed with joy at the gracious reception he had met with from his mistress. After having changed his apparel, he again visited her majesty, with whom he conferred some hours in private, and afterwards dined in great good humour. In the afternoon, when he repeated his visit to the queen, he found her very much altered in her behaviour. She taxed him with neglect of her orders, and desired that he might be examined by the lords in council. Those in waiting met immediately; but, after having sat some time, the affair was referred to the determination of a full council, which was summoned accordingly; and in

He returns
to England.

Camden.

Osborne.

Sidney's letters.

and is disgraced.

In the mean time the earl was confined to his chamber. Next day he was interrogated at the council-board, touching his contempt of the queen's orders, his making a truce with Tyrone, and his leaving Ireland without her majesty's permission. His answers were so little satisfactory, that he was committed to the custody of the lord privy-seal.

In the mean time Tyrone being apprised of the earl's departure, resolved to take advantage of his absence. He had by this time received a supply of money from the king of Spain, and a crown or plume of phenix feathers, with ample indulgences, from the pope. Thus animated, he assumed the title of O Neile, and advanced with an army of six thousand men within fifteen miles of the Navan. The earl of Ormond, who commanded as lieutenant-general, marching against him with the wreck of the English forces, was fain to conclude a truce, and wrote to the queen for a speedy reinforcement: but before this arrived, the earl drove Owny and Redmond Bourke from Leix and Tipperary.

During these transactions, the friends of Essex in England caballed among the people, endeavouring to raise a powerful faction in his favour. They exaggerated his good qualities, and exclaimed with such virulence against the ministry, that the queen's indignation was augmented, and all her suspicion of the earl's designs recurred. She determined therefore to convince her people, that she had not confined Essex without a cause; and ordered him to be tried in the lord keeper's house before the council, assisted by the four judges. He was there found guilty of divers misdemeanours, and sentenced to be removed from the council-board, suspended from the offices of earl mareschal and master of the ordnance, and detained in prison during her majesty's pleasure. The earl behaved on this occasion with great humility, and the queen declaring her intention was not to ruin but chastise him, he

A. C. 1599.

The rebellion continues to rage in Ireland.

Cabals of the earl of Essex.

A. C. 1600.

A. C. 1600. was permitted to retire to his own house, under the custody of Sir Richard Berkley. He had, from his first imprisonment, dedicated all his time to devotion, and undergone a severe fit of illness, the consequence of his chagrin; so that the queen's heart was by this time almost mollified. He had hoped his submissive behaviour would have entitled him to a free pardon; but finding himself still under restrictions, and having met with a mortifying repulse when he petitioned the queen for a renewal of the lease by which he farmed the sweet wines, his patience forsook him, and all his impetuosity of resentment awoke. He broke out into unguarded exclamations against his enemies at court, and did not even abstain from severe sarcasms against the person of Elizabeth, saying, she was now grown an old woman, and as crooked in her mind as in her body. He was surrounded by spies, who reported these expressions to Elizabeth; and this presumption extinguished all her compassion and regard. Such personal reflections she never forgave. She now lent a willing ear to the suggestions of secretary Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the rest of his enemies. She rejected with disdain all the petitions and memorials that were presented in his behalf by himself and his relations; and seemed bent upon provoking him to some step that would be productive of his own destruction. To the indignation of an incensed sovereign, was added the rage of a slighted woman. Essex was surrounded by a number of adherents, who poisoned his mind with the most fatal counsels. The chief of these were Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Giles Meyrick, and Henry Cusse. They fomented his anger, and instigated him to violent measures.

He by letters endeavoured to persuade the king of Scotland that the English ministers favoured the succession of the Infanta of Spain, whose pretended right had been asserted in a late performance,

and

and he exhorted the Scottish king to insist upon Elizabeth's declaring him her successor. James was afraid of teasing Elizabeth upon such a disagreeable subject: for he had already sent ambassadors to the king of Denmark, and several other powers of Germany, desiring their mediation with the queen towards her doing him justice; but they excused themselves from giving her any unnecessary offence. Besides, he was so much embroiled at home, that he would not run the risque of incurring her displeasure, at a time when he might have occasion for her assistance. He was at continual variance with his clergy, who were generally sour, gloomy pedants, equally inspired with pride and fanaticism. They found him lukewarm to their forms of religion, averse to their personal characters; and, by their influence among the populace, subjected him to divers mortifications. They even refused to give public thanks to God for his miraculous preservation from the swords of the earl Gowry and his brother, who had decoyed him to their house in Perth, in order to sacrifice him to the manes of their father, who had been executed for treason. James was already removed from all his attendants; and, on pretence of receiving a hidden treasure, conveyed into a solitary apartment, where he found a man standing in armour. Gowry's brother Alexander, who was his conductor, having locked the door as he entered, told the king that he now would take vengeance on him for the murder of his father, and drawing a dagger, would have plunged it in his breast, had not he been restrained by the man in armour, who wrenched the dagger from his hand, declaring that he should not, while he lived, commit so foul a deed. The king himself argued so pathetically against the perpetration of such an act, that Alexander was confounded; and assuring his majesty that his life should be safe, desired he would remain in that

A. C. 1600.
Camden.

Gowry's
conspiracy
against king
James of
Scotland.

A. C. 1600. place, until he could speak with his brother. So saying, he retired; but soon returned, saying, the earl was implacable, and swearing by God he should die. He then endeavoured to tie the king's hands with a garter, and James struggled manfully in his own defence. The person in armour, who was Gowry's servant, instead of assisting the assassin, opened a window, towards which James pulling his antagonist, cried murder! treason! and demanded assistance. His voice being known by some of his attendants in the street, John Ramsay, one of his pages, ran up the back-stairs, and entering the apartment, found the king still struggling with Alexander Ruthven. James desiring him to strike the traitor, he wounded him in two or three places with his dagger, while the man in armour retired another way. Alexander then quitted his hold, and running down stairs, was met by Sir Thomas Erskine, who killed him outright. This gentleman, followed by doctor Hugh Hereife a physician, and one Willon a footman, repaired immediately to the place where the king remained with Ramsay. As they expected an assault from earl Gowry himself, they locked their sovereign in a closet, and prepared to defend the entry. Immediately they were attacked by the earl with a sword in each hand, attended by several armed domestics; and a fierce conflict ensued. The defenders of James were in danger of being worsted, when one of them exclaiming, "You have killed the king our master; will you take our lives also?" Gowry was so confounded at this exclamation that he set the points of his two swords to the ground, in token of a cessation. He was that instant run through the body by Ramsay, and fell dead at his feet. His servants seeing him fall, betook themselves to flight; though not before Sir Thomas Erskine and doctor Hereife were dangerously wounded. By this time the noblemen and their followers had broke open the doors of the

ordinary passage, and rushing into the chamber expressed their joy at the safety of the king, who falling upon his knees, gave thanks to God for his deliverance. A day of public thanksgiving being appointed, the ministers of Edinburgh refused to bless God for having protected his majesty, alledging that it was a sham conspiracy. The king and council therefore, went in procession to the market-place, to countenance Lindsay bishop of Ross in preaching a sermon suited to the occasion. After this ceremony, the king repaired to Dumfermling to visit the queen, who had been just delivered of a prince, christened by the name of Charles, afterwards king of Great-Britain and Ireland.

In the course of this year, Elizabeth treated with the kings of France and Denmark, about the regulations of traffic, and some disputes subsisting between the English and Danes, touching the fishery on the coast of Norway. Commissioners being appointed on both sides, met at Bremen; but they could not agree, and the matters were left undetermined. At the pressing sollicitation of Henry king of France, the queen appointed Sir Henry Nevil, Sir John Herbert secretary of state, Sir Thomas Edmonds, and Sir Robert Beale, her commissioners to treat of a peace with those of Spain and the archduke Albert; and the conferences were opened in May at Boulogne; but, after several previous objections had been removed, the plenipotentiaries disagreed about precedence, and this dispute could not be decided: so that the congress proved ineffectual. During these debates, the archduke Albert advanced to the relief of Nieuport, which prince Maurice had invested, and was defeated in a pitched battle; the victory having been in a great measure owing to the valour of fifteen hundred English auxiliaries commanded by Sir Francis Vere, who sustained the whole shock of the Spanish infantry, until the prince's horse had routed the cavalry.

Congress
for a peace
with Spain.

The arch-
duke Albert
defeated by
prince
Maurice.

A. C. 1600.

Winwood.

The lord
Montjoy's
progress a-
gainst the
Irish rebels.

valry of the enemy, and then attacked their foot in flank. This disaster did not at all diminish the pride and inflexibility of the Spanish plenipotentiaries, who depended upon the success of the rebellion which their master fomented in Ireland.

Elizabeth resolving to quell at once those insurrections by which she had been alarmed through the whole course of her reign, sent over the lord Montjoy as lord deputy, and appointed Sir George Carew president of Munster. Sir Henry Docwra, and Sir Matthew Morgan landing with a considerable body of forces near the mouth of Lochfoyle, erected two forts, and fortified Derry. The earl of Ormond being treacherously surprised at a conference, by Owny O More, was detained by Tyrone, until he gave hostages for the payment of three thousand pounds; and engaged that he would never carry arms against that chief, or any of his confederates. The lord deputy marching into Ulster, compelled Tyrone to retire into the woods and fastnesses, supplied the English garrisons in those parts, and afterwards falling into Leinster, defeated and slew Owny O More. In the mean time, Ormond being released, reduced all the rebels of Leinster. The lord deputy having received a reinforcement from England, marched towards Armagh, and erected a fort which he called Mount Norris, the command of which he bestowed upon Edward Blaney, an officer of approved courage, experience, and fidelity. The rebels were worsted in several skirmishes, and at length defeated near Carlinford: Sir Henry Docwra reduced the whole country in the neighbourhood of Lochfoyle, while Sir George Carew sowed dissensions among the rebels of Munster: he drove Sugaun earl of Desmond out of the country; Florence Maccarty, O Sullivan Beare, the white knight, John and Theobald Bourke, with other chieftains, were intimidated

ed into submission; and the peace of the whole province was established before the end of December.

A. C. 1600.

Camden.

A. C. 1600.

The earl of Essex still continued to minister food for the queen's jealousy and indignation. Finding James of Scotland averse to his proposals, he took under his protection some presbyterian ministers, who preached at his house; and multitudes of people went thither on pretence of hearing their sermons. He formed a kind of council, composed of the earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges governor of the fort of Plymouth, Sir John Daveys surveyor of the ordnance, and Sir John Littleton of Franckel. These being assembled at Drury-house, he produced a list of individuals, whom he supposed attached to his fortunes. It contained the names of a great number of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen. There they deliberated upon the measures to be taken; and resolved, that the palace and person of the queen being secured, the earl should throw himself at her feet, demanding that certain persons should be removed from her presence, and deprived of the offices they enjoyed. The queen and council, alarmed at the great resort of people to Essex, and suspecting the earl's intention, sent secretary Herbert to require his appearance before the council, convened in the lord keeper's house. Essex, dreading a second imprisonment, excused himself on account of indisposition, and consulted his friends touching the emergency of his situation. He was destitute of men, arms, and ammunition; the guards were doubled, and he was averse to any attempt against the palace, which would look like open treason. While he and his confidants were in consultation, a person, probably employed by his enemies, came in as a messenger from the citizens, with tenders of friendship and assistance against all his adversaries. This intelligence was confirmed by others, who assured

A. C. 1601. him that Sir Thomas Smith, one of the sheriffs, would raise one thousand men of the trained-bands for his service. The earl's vanity being flattered by these insidious proposals, he resolved to enter the city next day; and, in the mean time, sent notice to his friends, that the lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh lay in wait for his life. Early in the morning he was visited by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lord Sandes, Parker, and Monteagle, with three hundred persons of distinction. The doors of Essex-house were immediately locked, that none might go forth without permission: Sir Walter Raleigh sending a message to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer visited him in a boat upon the river, and discovered all their transactions. The lord keeper, accompanied by the earl of Worcester, the lord chief justice Popham, and Sir William Knolles, uncle to the earl of Essex, were sent by the queen to learn the meaning of such a concourse of people. Being admitted through the wicket, they found the court-yard filled with the populace. When the lord keeper mentioned the cause of their coming, Essex replied aloud, that there was a conspiracy against his life; and that his friends were assembled for the security of his person, since nothing but his blood could satisfy his enemies. The lords endeavouring to expostulate with him, were interrupted by the multitude, which raised a terrible clamour, threatening them with instant death. The lord keeper charged them, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and following Essex into the house, was, with his attendants, committed to the guard of Sir John Daveys, Francis Tresham, Owen Salisbury, and some musketeers. The counsellors being thus secured, Essex leaving two hundred men with Meyric to defend his house, repaired to the city, where he exclaimed in the streets, "For the queen! For the queen! My life is in danger!" hoping to en-
gage

The Earl of
Essex at-
tempts to
raise an in-
surrection in
London.

gaged the citizens to rise in his behalf: but they had received orders from the mayor to keep within their houses; so that he was not joined by one single person. Then he proceeded to the house of sheriff Smith, whom he dispatched to the lord mayor, desiring he himself, or four aldermen, would come and confer with him upon the situation of his affairs: but, before he received any answer from that quarter, the earl of Cumberland, with Sir Thomas Gerard knight-marshal, came into the city, and proclaimed him and all his adherents traitors. This circumstance was no sooner known, than many of the earl's followers slunk away; and he himself, in manifest dejection, attempted to return to his own house, intending to make his peace with the queen, by means of the counsellors whom he had left in custody. Finding Ludgate guarded by Sir John Levison, who denied him passage, he asked and obtained leave for Gorges to pass, that he might release the counsellors, whom he forthwith conducted to Whitehall. The earl in returning towards the heart of the city, found a chain drawn across the street, at the corner of St. Paul's, and guarded by armed men, who had been assembled by the bishop of London. In fighting his way through this obstruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman for whom he had a singular affection, lost his life; and Sir Christopher Blount was wounded and taken. The earl, going down Friday-street, embarked in a boat at Queenhythe, and landing at Essex-house, began to make preparations for his defence.

He was immediately invested by the lord admiral, at the head of several regiments provided with artillery; and, about ten at night, he, with his company, surrendered at discretion. He and Southampton were immediately conveyed to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, from whence they were next day sent to the Tower; and his friends were confined in other prisons. The ministry still alarm-

He is sent
to the
Tower;

A.C. 1601. ed the queen with assurances that the danger was not yet over. The citizens were obliged to keep double watch and ward : and captain Thomas Lea was executed at Tyburn, because he had said to Sir Robert Crofts, " Might not seven or eight honest fellows as we are, throw ourselves at her majesty's feet, and represent the injury that is done to so many brave gentlemen, who may one day do her good service ?" This insinuation being reported by Crofts, was interpreted into a design of setting Essex at liberty : Lea was apprehended, convicted, and condemned. He died with great intrepidity, declaring himself intirely innocent of the crime laid to his charge. Essex and Southampton were tried by their peers on the nineteenth day of February ; lord Buckhurst presiding as high steward, and both were condemned as traitors. Essex, after condemnation, was visited by that superstitious devotion which took possession of his mind in all his disgraces. He was terrified almost into despair by the ghostly remonstrances of his own chaplain Ash-ton ; he was reconciled to Cecil, and the rest of his adversaries, and made a full confession of his conspiracy. On Ash-wednesday he was brought to the scaffold, which was erected within the Tower, and suffered in presence of the earls of Cumberland and Hertford, the lord viscount Bindon, the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Darcy, the lords Compton, Morely, and many other persons of distinction : Sir Walter Raleigh retired into the armoury, from whence he saw the execution, at which he could not help shedding tears. Essex appeared in a suit of black sattin ; and after having made an obeisance to the spectators, confessed his sins with marks of uncommon sorrow and contrition, though he protested that he never entertained a thought to the prejudice of her majesty's person. His behaviour denoted penitence, not without a mixture of apprehension : he resigned himself intirely to the direction

tried, con-
demned, and
executed.

section of the divines who attended him; and after A.C. 1601.
 set exercises of devotion, submitted his neck to the
 executioner, who, with three strokes severed his
 head from his body. Thus died, in the thirty- Camden,
 fourth year of his age, Robert Devereux earl of Es-
 sex, once the minion of fortune, and always the
 darling of the people. He was a nobleman posses-
 sed of excellent and amiable qualities; brave, libe-
 ral, and humane; a patron of learning, in which he
 himself had made good progress; a warm friend,
 and an avowed enemy. His foibles were vanity,
 ambition, and an impetuosity of temper, by which
 he fell a sacrifice to the artful intrigues of those who Reliq. Wot-
 dreaded his power, and envied his good fortune. ton.
 His accomplices Meyric and Cusse were executed
 at Tyburn; Sir Charles Danvers and Sir Christo-
 pher Blount were beheaded: Littleton, Orel, and Winwood,
 Sir Edmund Bainham were tried and condemned;
 but the first dying in prison, the others were par-
 doned. The earl of Southampton was detained in
 the Tower till the accession of king James, by whom
 he was set at liberty, and restored in blood by act
 of parliament. Elizabeth certainly looked upon
 Essex with the eyes of particular affection, which in
 all probability was not extinguished at the time of
 his condemnation; for she betrayed great agitation
 of mind, and even countermanded the order for his
 execution. But she was provoked by his contemp-
 tuous forbearance to implore her mercy; and being
 alarmed at his own declaring that his life would be
 dangerous to her safety, she ordered the sentence to
 be executed. He is said to have made application
 to her for pardon; but his letters and messages were
 intercepted by the earl and countess of Nottingham.
 It does not appear, however, that she underwent
 any violent transports at the news of his death;
 though when her indignation subsided, she became
 pensive and melancholy, and never heard his name
 mentioned without sighing.

A. C. 1601.

Ambassa-
dors arrive
from Scot-
land.

The king of Scotland, when he heard of the earl's being apprehended, had dispatched the earl of Mar, and the abbot of Kinlois, as his ambassadors to the court of England; and, by the notes with which they were furnished, we may conclude that he was interested in some project which did not take effect. But the earl being executed before they arrived, they pretended their errand was to congratulate her majesty upon her happy success in quelling the late audacious attempt. Elizabeth affected to take the compliment in good part: and was even prevailed upon to add two thousand pounds a year to their master's pension. During their residence in England, they managed his affairs soderously, that the majority of the council was won over to his interest; and among the rest secretary Cecil, who from this period corresponded with James, by means of the lord Henry Howard. About the same time Ostend was invested by the archduke Albert, and defended with incredible valour by Sir Francis Vere, at the head of the English garrison. Henry IV. of France, repairing to Calais, Elizabeth sent Sir Thomas Edmonds with a compliment to that prince, who returned it by the marechals du Biron, de Lavardin, and the duke d'Aumont. These noblemen were received at the court of England with great magnificence; and, though no part of their negotiation transpired, are said to have conferred with her majesty upon a scheme which Henry had formed against the house of Austria. The parliament meeting on the twenty-seventh day of October, the queen gave them to understand, that the wars in Flanders and Ireland had drained her exchequer in spite of all her frugality; and they indulged her with a more considerable subsidy than had ever been granted since her accession. In consideration of this supply, she issued a proclamation for repealing some monopolies of salt, oil, starch, and other commodities, which had
given

Grotius.
Mazarai.

given offence to the nation ; and the commons deputed fourscore of their body to present their humble thanks for this instance of her parental regard. Then they passed an act for the relief of the poor : and having made some other laws of public utility, were dissolved in the month of December.

A.C. 1601.

D'Ewe.

The rebels in Ireland being again put in motion, by supplies and promises from the king of Spain, the lord deputy marched against Tyrone, whom he drove from his camp under Blackwater, expelled the Macgenissies from Lecale, took Dundrum, and several other castles belonging to the rebels, secured the abbey of Armagh with a strong garrison, advanced as far north as Dungannon, and routed them in several encounters. Sir Henry Docwra compelled Macswiny Fanagh to submit, and retrieved some castles which had been betrayed to the rebels ; and Sir George Carew seizing the titular earl of Desmond, and Florence Maccarty, sent them to England, where they died in prison. On the twenty-first day of September, a Spanish fleet entered the harbour of Kinsale, and Don John de Aguilá landing with four thousand veterans, Sir Richard Piercy retreated with his men to Cork, in obedience to the order he had received. The Spanish general immediately published a manifesto, declaring he was come to execute the pope's bull against Elizabeth, and re-establish the catholic religion. Tyrone and O Donel assembling their forces, resolved to join him ; but, before they could advance into Munster, the lord-deputy had invested the Spaniards in Kinsale ; and detached Carew to stop their progress on the frontiers : but another reinforcement of two thousand Spaniards landing at Beerhaven and Baltimore, under the command of Sibeure and Alonso O Campo, were joined by O Donel and Tyrone, so as to constitute an army of seven thousand horse and foot, with which they advanced to the relief of Kinsale. Instead of throw-

A body of
Spanish
troops arrive
in Ireland.

ing

A. C. 1601. ing a supply into the place, they were defeated by the lord-deputy, with the loss of twelve hundred men killed upon the spot; and O Campo with three Spanish officers were taken. Syriago arriving with seven hundred recruits at Castlehaven, was no sooner informed of this defeat, than he set sail for Spain, carrying O Donel with him; and Tyrone retired to his fastnesses in Ulster. Aguila, discouraged by these disasters, surrendered upon honourable conditions, and the lord-deputy took possession of Kinsale. The Spaniards were conveyed to their own country in English bottoms; and Aguila gave such an unfavourable account of Tyrone and his confederates, that Philip would send no more troops to Ireland, though he still supplied the rebels with money, arms, and ammunition.

Camden.

A. C. 1602. In the beginning of this year, an ambassador extraordinary arriving from France, in order to regulate the navigation which had been interrupted on both sides by depredations, the queen appointed commissioners to treat upon the subject; and all differences were compromised. The English minister in Paris had, in the name of his mistress, made a proposal to Henry of a league offensive and defensive, in order to drive the Spaniards intirely out of the Low-Countries; but the finances of the French king were so disordered, and his kingdom so filled with malcontents, that he could not engage in an enterprize of such importance. The archduke Albert had made some advances towards a peace with Elizabeth, but she rejected them, lest the states of the Netherlands should be tempted to throw themselves into the arms of France. That they might be encouraged to maintain the war, she suspended their annual payment for two years, and allowed them to raise seven thousand men in England. Frederic Spinola had undertaken to fortify himself on the Isle of Wight; and his master Philip had equipped fifteen gallies, having two thousand

Winwood.

land soldiers on board for that service. The queen A. C. 1602. being informed of his design, sent vice-admiral Levifon, and Sir William Monfon, to destroy the Spanish fleet in the harbours of Portugal. Monfon being left behind to wait for a reinforcement of Dutch ships, Levifon proceeded on his voyage, and fell in with the Spanish plate fleet from America, which he immediately attacked without success. It was so numerous, and strongly convoyed by galleons, that he was surrounded, and in great danger of being taken. He made shift, however, to retire, and being joined by Monfon, sailed to the port of Sesimbria, in which he found an East-India carrack of fifteen hundred tons: she was richly laden, and guarded by eleven galleys, under the command of the marquis de Santa Cruz and Spinola. Nevertheless, the English admiral attacked her without hesitation, sunk two of the galleys, compelled the rest to sheer off in a shattered condition, and taking possession of the carrack, valued at one million two hundred thousand crowns, brought her in safety to England. Spinola having refitted six of the galleys, set sail from Lisbon for Camden. Flanders; but falling in with Sir Robert Mansel in the channel, two of them were sunk, a third wrecked, and he escaped with the rest to Dunkirk.

In the course of this year, a rancorous quarrel broke out between the jesuits and the secular priests in England, which last accused the others as the cause of all the severe laws which had been enacted against the catholics; because they had been concerned in all the conspiracies, and even hired assassins to murder her majesty. Bitter pamphlets were published on both sides. The secular priests were saddled with a superior called Blackwell, attached to the jesuits, who continued to oppress, and even declared them schismatics; but they appealed to the pope, who revoked his authority. Secretary

A. C. 1602.

The duke de
Biron be-
headed in
France.

cretary Cecil recommended the seculars to the protection of the French king; but Elizabeth issued a proclamation, commanding all the jesuits to depart the kingdom immediately; and this order was extended to such seculars as would refuse to take the oath of allegiance. It was at this juncture that Henry IV. of France ordered the marechal de Biron to be beheaded, for having conspired with other noblemen to dismember the French monarchy. The marechal de Bouillon, who was likewise concerned in this conspiracy, retired to Germany, from whence he solicited Elizabeth's intercession with his master; and she, by her ambassador, hinted to Henry, that this might be a Spanish stratagem to infect him with suspicions of his best subjects; but that prince told the English ambassador, his mistress had a better opinion of Bouillon than he deserved, inasmuch as he had actually engaged in the conspiracy of Essex, against her own person and dignity.

The rebellion in Munster being revived by a supply in money from Spain, the president took by assault Dunboy, which had been fortified by O. Sullivan, and drove him with his confederates out of the province. The lord-deputy marching to Blackwater, erected a bridge over the river, and a fort, to which he gave his own name of Charlemont: Tyrone having fled to castle Roe on the Ban, the whole country was wasted, and the castle, in which his most valuable effects were secured, fell into the hands of Sir Arthur Chichester, on whom the lord-deputy bestowed the government of Montjoy, another fort which he had just raised at Lochcaugh. O Cahan, Macguire, Rory O Donel and the O Rileys having submitted, he directed his route into Connaught, where he finished the fort of Gallway: then Sir Arthur Chichester, and Sir Henry Docwra joining their forces, pursued Tyrone through the fastnesses till the approach of winter.

By

By this time the native Irish were reduced to a de-
 plorable condition. Their corn and houses were
 destroyed, their cattle driven away; so that many
 thousands of them perished in the woods by cold
 and famine. They now cursed Tyrone as the au-
 thor of all their miseries. His adherents dropped
 off daily, and submitting to the deputy, met with
 a favourable reception. Tyrone himself had, in
 the spring, sent proposals of submission which the
 queen rejected with disdain, until she was importu-
 ned by Cecil, by the French ambassador at his re-
 quest, and lastly, by her council, to indulge him
 with such terms as would put an end to an ex-
 pensive rebellion, fraught with misery and blood-
 shed. At length she consented to sign his pardon,
 which was sent to the lord Montjoy, with powers
 to grant part of the conditions he demanded. The
 necessities of Tyrone were so urgent, that he re-
 paired to Millefont, where, throwing himself at the
 deputy's feet, he submitted his life and estate to
 the queen's mercy. O Rourke followed his exam-
 ple; and the rebellion being entirely suppressed,
 the whole kingdom was reduced to obedience and
 tranquillity.

A. G. 1602.
 Rebellion in
 Ireland ex-
 tinguished.

A. C. 1603.

Ward.

The queen had pardoned him with such reluct-
 ance, that many people imagined her last illness
 was produced from her chagrin at that event. It
 must be owned, however, she had many more pow-
 erful causes of grief and mortification. She was
 very loth to relinquish the pleasures of life and roy-
 alty. She endeavoured to conceal the ravages
 which time had made upon her constitution, even
 from her own knowledge. She affected an extra-
 vagant gaiety both in her dress and diversions, and
 even engaged in a childish intercourse of love with
 the earl of Clanrickarde, a young Irish nobleman,
 who resembled Essex in his personal qualifications;
 but he did not meet her advances with equal

A. C. 1603. warmth, and for that reason the intercourse was soon laid aside. She tried to divert her attention from disagreeable objects, by hunting, tournaments, and parties of pleasure : but, in spite of all her endeavours, she was seized with the horrors of melancholy. She became peevish, pensive, silent, and sighed and wept insensibly. Perhaps the faculties of her mind were impaired by long and violent exercise. Perhaps she reflected with remorse upon some actions of her life, which were contrary to humanity, candour, and good morals. She had just lost a friend and confidant in the countess of Nottingham ; she had been thwarted by her ministry and council in the affair of Tyrone ; she found her constitution decaying ; she foresaw, through the exaggerating mist of jealousy, her courtiers and dependants, shrinking away in the evening of her life, in order to recommend themselves to her successor ; and her indignation against the unfortunate Essex having subsided, she lamented his fate, remembering nothing of him but the amiable side of his character, and the pleasure she had enjoyed in his conversation. Such a concurrence of causes, joined to the infirmities of her body, was more than sufficient to plunge her into an abyss of despondence. She lost her appetite, and could enjoy no repose : feeling a perpetual heat in her stomach, attended with an unquenchable thirst, she drank without ceasing, but refused the assistance of her physicians. When the archbishop of Canterbury, secretary Cecil, and others of her council, intreated her on their knees to take what was necessary for her sustenance and relief, she peevishly replied, that she knew her own constitution, and was in no danger. At length, teized by their intreaties, she desired that they would let her die in quiet. Her melancholy and distemper gaining ground, Cecil and the lord-admiral desired to know her sentiments with

The queen
is taken ill.

with regard to the succession; and she said, as the crown of England had been always held by kings, it ought not to devolve upon rascals, but upon her immediate heir the king of Scotland. Having continued sitting upon cushions for ten days, without closing an eye or uttering a syllable, she was put to bed partly by force, and seemed to revive a little: she heard some pious meditations, and joined in prayer with the archbishop of Canterbury.

A. C. 1603.

Camden

After she was deprived of her speech, the noblemen of her council desired she would give some token of her approving the Scottish monarch as her successor; and she laid her hand upon her head as a mark of her approbation. On the twenty-fourth day of March, about two o'clock in the morning, she expired, in the seventieth year of her age, and in the forty-fifth of her reign. She had given orders that her corpse should not be touched or seen by any person but her own women: it was therefore not exposed to public view, but being conveyed from Richmond where she died, to Whitehall, was interred in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster, with great magnificence. Elizabeth, in her person, was masculine, tall, straight, and strong limbed, with an high round forehead, brown eyes, fair complexion, fine white teeth, and yellow hair. She danced with great agility; her voice was strong and shrill; she understood music, and played upon several instruments. She possessed an excellent memory, understood the dead and living languages, had made good proficiency in the sciences, and was well read in history. Her conversation was sprightly and agreeable, her judgment solid, her apprehension acute, her application indefatigable, and her courage invincible. She was the great bulwark of the protestant religion: she was highly commend-

The queen's death.

Her character.

A. C. 1603. able for her general regard to the impartial administration of justice ; and even for her rigid oeconomy, which saved the public money, and evinced that love for her people, which she so warmly professed: yet she deviated from justice in some instances when her interest or passions were concerned ; and notwithstanding all her great qualities, we cannot deny that she was vain, proud, imperious, and in some cases cruel : her predominant passions were jealousy and avarice ; though she was also subject to such violent gusts of anger as overwhelmed all regard to the dignity of her station, and even hurried her beyond the bounds of common decency. She was wise and steady in her principles of government ; and, above all princes, fortunate in a ministry*.

O F

* Her vanity appeared in her love of flattery, which she greedily swallowed even when it was fullsome and absurd ; and in the variety and richness of her apparel, which she continued to wear even in her old age. Her behaviour to Sir James Melvil when he came as ambassador from Mary queen of Scots, was altogether childish. Understanding that he had been a traveller, she shifted her dress every day, that he might tell her which kind of habit became her best. She asked whether she or his queen was the fairer, the taller, and the better dancer ; and when he said that Mary was taller than her highness, she answered, that then Mary was too high, for she herself was neither too high nor too low. She directed the lord Hunston to conduct Melvil, as if by accident, into a gallery, where he should hear her play upon the virginals. He guessed the contrivance, and without leave entered her apartment. Then she desired to know

whether she or his mistress was the better musician. In order to display her learning, she spoke to him in the French, High-Dutch, and Italian languages ; and detained him two days, until he should see her dance a sarabrand.

Her cruelty and jealousy were too conspicuous in the fate of the duke of Norfolk and Mary queen of Scots. Of avarice and parsimony she exhibited numberless proofs, in extorting presents from noblemen, on pretence of visiting them at their houses: in allowing her ambassadors in foreign countries to live at their own expence, until some of them were ruined ; and in carrying on the war against Spain at the charge of private adventurers. When she died, besides a vast quantity of plate and jewels, she left three thousand robes, none of which she had the liberality to distribute among her servants. She raised one hundred thousand crowns yearly, by granting licences to Roman catho-

OF THE CHURCH.

History of the English Church, from the Union of the two Roses to the Union of the two Crowns.

ARchbishop Bouchier, who crowned Henry VII. dying soon after that ceremony, was succeeded by Morton bishop of Ely, who had been so instrumental in raising Henry to the throne. One of this prince's maxims was to live well with the clergy: and therefore we find no disturbance in the English church during his whole reign; nor any ecclesiastical step of importance, except a regulation of sanctuaries, which the king obtained from the pope, who, by way of recompensing himself for this favour, sent Jasper Pons as his agent to collect money from the English people for dispensations from going to the jubilee. We have, in the course of the history, mentioned this pontiff's scheme against the Turks, in which he invited Henry to engage. His successor Julian II. wrote

catholics and non-conformists, exempting them from the penalty inflicted by law upon those who did not regularly attend divine worship. She exacted every new-year's day above sixty thousand crowns in gifts from her dependants. She entertained spies in all the houses of the nobility, encouraged informers, introduced the use of tortures, enacted a great number of penal laws; and by the terror of her suspicion, which was generally fatal to the object, drove many gentlemen into exile, that she might prosecute them to confiscation, and enjoy their estates. Her cholerick disposition prompted her often to

revile foreign ambassadors in the grossest terms; to insult her ministers and subjects in the most abusive language, and even to chastise her female attendants with her own hand. On such occasions, she used to utter oaths and imprecations in the most vulgar stile; and the ladies of her court did not scruple to follow her example. Her great art consisted in cajoling her parliament and people with the most flattering caresses, the sincerity of which they could not doubt, when they found themselves rich and happy under her administration

Winwood. Melvil. Osborne. Carte.

Bacon.

Henry VIII.
expresses
uncommon
zeal for the
catholic re-
ligion.

to him on the same subject; and he amused both with general promises which he had no intention to perform. The affairs of the church are so interwoven with the civil history of Henry VIII. in whose reign the reformation began, that the chief ecclesiastical events are there recorded; and indeed there was no room to treat of the English church apart, after it had renounced the papal supremacy. During the first eighteen years of this prince's reign, he acted in spiritual matters as an humble dependant of the Roman pontiff. He exercised his power in defence of the papal authority: he sent deputies to the council of the Lateran, which had been convoked in opposition to that of Pisa. He called in all the books of Luther, from whose doctrine two and forty articles were collected, and condemned by virtue of a commission which Wolsey issued as legate in England: Henry likewise granted a privilege for printing Fisher's book against the German reformers; and, upon all occasions, manifested uncommon zeal for the catholic religion. The cardinal being vested with his legatine power, expressed uncommon animosity against those who professed the new doctrine. Six men and one woman were condemned to the flames at Coventry, for having taught their children to repeat the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the apostles creed, in the vulgar tongue. Severities of the same nature were practised in different parts of the kingdom, where the reformation began to gain ground. This, however, was the only practice in which the cardinal and the clergy could agree. He assumed a power of calling convocations, and laying them under contribution; and, when they complained of these encroachments, he threatened them with a general visitation. He was supported in these arbitrary proceedings by the king, who reaped the fruits of his exaction, and began to hold the persons of the clergy in contempt, on account
of

of their ignorance and profligacy. Nevertheless, he still retained his attachment to the old religion. When Luther, at the desire of his patron the elector of Saxony, wrote a letter to the king of England, excusing the acrimony and abuse with which he had treated him in his writings, Henry in his answer, retorted the other's virulence, in sarcasms upon his doctrine, and refused to forgive him on any other terms than those of his retracting his errors, renouncing his wife, and retiring from the world, to pass the remainder of his days in penance and mortification. It appears from a letter of cardinal Wolsey to the bishop of Winchester, that the first had formed a plan for a reformation of the clergy; and pope Adrian himself was so well disposed in this particular, that the German princes were encouraged to present him with the grievances of the church, digested into an hundred articles, containing an account of the luxury, prophanity, avarice, superstition, and pride of ecclesiastics: but the good effects of the pope's moderation were prevented by the cabals and intrigues of his clergy; and, in England, Henry still continued to prosecute the Lutherans.

Strype.

After the fall of Wolsey, we have seen, in the civil history, the demands of Henry upon his clergy; and in what manner they subscribed to the articles in which they owned his supremacy. Cranmer being appointed archbishop of Canterbury, the king deliberated with him about the suppression of monasteries; and it was resolved, that this should be preceded by a visitation, which in all probability would reconcile the people to the scheme, by bringing to light the vices and imposture practised in religious houses. Cromwell was created vicar-general, with such powers as absolutely suspended all episcopal jurisdiction: and this power he delegated to his deputies, enabling them to confirm or annul the election of prelates, to sus-

pend or deprive them ; to convene synods, try ecclesiastical causes, pass censures, and grant pensions to such monks as might be willing to quit a monastic life. Their instructions were extremely minute touching their inquiry into the doctrines, morals, and behaviour of abbots and abbeesses, nuns, and friars ; and they followed them with the utmost rigour, disclosing such scenes of vice, obscenity, and imposture, as exposed them to the detestation of all those who retained the least regard for decency and good order. After three hundred and

A. C. 1535. seventy-six abbies had been suppressed, when a motion was made in convocation for translating the Bible into the English language, Gardiner and the popish bishops opposed it with all their power, till Henry himself ordered that the translation should be begun ; and it was afterwards printed at Paris. In the mean time, an English book, called the King's Primer, was published, containing the doctrines of christianity, set forth in a plain, familiar manner, and exposing the superstitions of the Romish clergy.

A. C. 1536. A convocation being held, to confirm the sentence against the king's late marriage, the lower house presented the upper house with fifty-nine opinions meriting reformation, extracted from the sermons and writings of Cranmer and the protestant party. After a long debate, they established a set of articles concerning religion, ordaining bishops to instruct the people in the Bible and the Creed, and to condemn all doctrines that were declared heretical by the first four councils of the church ; namely, those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Calcedon : acknowledging baptism to be a divine institution, and condemning the doctrines of the Anabaptists and Pelagians on that subject : limiting penance to the articles of contrition, confession, and amendment of life, as necessary to salvation ; and declaring absolution pronounced by

Articles
concerning
religion
drawn up in
the convo-
cation

the priest to be as effectual, as if by God himself : confirming the doctrine of transubstantiation ; and defining justification to be a perfect renewal in Christ, the fruit of the christian virtues operating both outwardly and inwardly ; and recommending images in churches as helps to devotion : exhorting the people to honour the saints as persons in glory ; to praise God for them, and imitate their virtues ; and to solicit their intercession at the throne of grace : to retain certain symbols, as containing mystical significations, and serving to lift up the mind to God : such as the priest's vestments, the ceremony of sprinkling holy water, to remind us of our baptism and the blood of Christ ; of giving holy bread in sign of our union with Christ, and in remembrance of the sacrament ; of carrying candles on Candlemas-day, alluding to Christ as the spiritual light ; giving ashes on Ash-Wednesday, in token of penance and mortality ; bearing palms on Palm-Sunday, thereby shewing a desire to receive Christ in our hearts as he entered into Jerusalem ; creeping to the cross, kissing it, and setting up the sepulchre on Good-Friday, in token of humility, and in remembrance of his death ; of hallowing the font, together with exorcisms and benedictions ; recommending prayers for departed souls as good and charitable : but, as the scripture did not ascertain the pains they suffered, or the place in which they were confined, the people were enjoined to remit them wholly to God's mercy, and to reject the notion of their being delivered from purgatory by the pope's pardons ; by masses said in particular places, or before certain images. These articles were published with a preface by Henry himself ; and the emperor made them the basis of the famous Interim which he granted in favour of the German protestants.

The pope having summoned Henry to his council at Mantua, the king protested against the legality

and published.
ed.

Henry's inconsistency in religion.

lity and proceedings of this assembly, and was seconded by the convocation of Canterbury. Hitherto he had acted under the sanction of this authority; but now Cromwell, as his vicar, independent of all restriction, published a set of instructions to the clergy, enforcing the late articles, and recommending order and discipline among the people. These were followed by a new visitation and dissolution of the greater monasteries. Some infamous methods were practised to persuade and intimidate the abbots and monks into a surrender of their houses and charters. Henry was resolved to be absolute both in church and state: he had formed a religion of his own, and persecuted equally the papists and protestants, who refused to conform with his opinions, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Melancthon, who by letters exhorted him to a greater consistency in his doctrines and conduct. There was not one person in his dominions who durst openly dissent from his system, except Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury; and we have already observed, in the civil history, that this prelate was screened from destruction by the personal affection of Henry.

After the fall of Cromwell, the archbishop was obliged to proceed with great caution, and resolved to befriend the protestants, by gradually sapping the foundations of the Romish religion. He called a convocation in London, to consult upon means for putting a stop to the persecution, and reforming the clergy; he recommended a revision of the laws and canons enacted against simony, perjury, blasphemy, and other crimes, and proposed a translation of the Bible, which was actually printed by Grafton, and published by the king's authority. He likewise, with the king's permission, decreed that the use of tapers, silk habits, and other ornaments of images, should be abolished; that a chapter of the New Testament should

should be read in every parish, morning and evening; that the missals, and other books of liturgy, should be examined, corrected, and castigated of all feigned legends, superstitious orisons, collects, versicles, responses, and names of saints, not mentioned in the scripture. The king afterwards granted a commission to a select number of the convocation, to draw up a declaration of the christian doctrine, for the necessary erudition of a christian man. This performance contained the declaration of faith, the creed, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the Ave-Maria; an article of free-will; an article of justification; an article of good works; and another of prayer for departed souls.

Declaration of doctrine for the erudition of a christian man.

Notwithstanding these points which Cranmer gained in favour of the reformed religion, in opposition to Gardiner, Bonner, and other Romish prelates, the doctrine of transubstantiation still remained in full force, under the protection of the king himself, who was so bigotted to this article of belief, that many persons were brought to the stake for disbelieving the real presence in the Eucharist. We have seen what snares were laid for the destruction of Cranmer; and that they not only miscarried, but even served to confirm Henry's confidence in that prelate's innocence and integrity. The king was so much convinced of the purity of his intention, that he did not take umbrage at the archbishop's making a motion in the house of lords for moderating the proceedings upon the act of the six articles, which had been the foundation of a most cruel persecution. Though Cranmer was on this occasion unsupported by the other prelates, he argued with such strength of reason, that the house agreed to the act of mitigation. In the same parliament he proposed a digest of the ecclesiastical laws; and an act passed, authorising the king to nominate sixteen ecclesiastics, and as many laymen,

Project for reviewing and digesting the canons.

for

Burnet.

for reviewing the canons. Cranmer actually finished the draught of a code, intitled *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, which he presented to the king at Hampton-court; and letters patent were drawn up for authorising this digest. Nay, Henry about this time seemed bent upon a further reformation. In a letter to the archbishop, he forbade the practice of creeping to the cross, and of several other superstitious ceremonies of popery: but his intention was partly frustrated by the remonstrances of Gardiner, who, in a letter to him from the imperial court, where he resided, gave him to understand, that if any further innovations should be made in the religion of England, the emperor would never consent to a pacification. This was the true reason for dropping the scheme of the digest, in which Cranmer had made such considerable progress. Nevertheless, Cranmer, in obedience to Henry's commands, translated the liturgy, and some processions, into the English language.

A. C. 1546.

Proposal for
abolishing
the mass in
France and
England.

Towards the latter end of his reign, he became more and more arbitrary, both in spirituals and temporals. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, Bonner of London, and several other prelates, were fain to make conveyances in his favour, of many manours belonging to their different dioceses, upon very slight considerations; and these deeds were confirmed by parliament, which had already bestowed upon him all the colleges, free chapels, and other remaining religious endowments. In the last year of his reign, the French king sent over Annibault his admiral, with a proposal for abolishing the mass in both kingdoms; and Henry relished the scheme so well, that he ordered Cranmer to draw up the form of a communion, to be substituted in the room of it; but his death prevented it from being put in execution.

When

When Edward succeeded to the throne, the archbishop exerted all his influence to complete the reformation. The king had been instructed by tutors, who were attached to the protestant doctrines; and the protector openly favoured that religion. Cranmer was assisted by Barlow, bishop of St. Davids, Ridley afterwards bishop of London, and several other able preachers, who, by their zeal and elocution, contributed to the success of his endeavours. Gardiner perceiving, from the complexion of the ministry, and the inclinations of the people, that he should be of very little service to the cause of popery, by openly opposing the tenets of the reformation, endeavoured to check the progress of them, by representing to the protector, that all innovations during a minority would produce confusion and disturbance in the state; and proposing that matters of religion should continue as they were left at the death of Henry, until the reigning king should take the management of affairs into his own hands. Very little regard was paid to his insinuations. A book written against the corruptions of popery, and published by Herman archbishop-elect of Cologne, was now translated into the English language, and printed in London by the direction of Cranmer. This performance made a strong impression upon the minds of the people, which were further enlightened by Marcart's declaration of the mass, and the paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament, which were carefully translated and published for the general use of the nation. Glasier, in a sermon at St. Paul's church, affirmed, that the institution of Lent was no more than a positive law; and others preached against other parts of the popish worship: but, these were virulently opposed by the inferior clergy, who derived their subsistence from the fees they received by the sacraments, and other sacramentals, and chiefly by singing

Opposition
to the re-
formed doc-
trines.

singing masses for the departed souls of the poor ; for which they charged two-pence a mass. These therefore were enemies to the reformation, which would have deprived them of bread ; and they were supported by Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal, who declared against all alteration in religion : but, the chief of the party was the princess Mary, who now openly espoused the regulations of her father, and in particular the act of the six articles.

A general
visitation
over Eng-
land.

On the other hand, the props of the reformation were first, the young king himself, who had been carefully educated in protestant principles by Dr. Cox, and Mr. Chick, the protector, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, Holbeach bishop of London, Goodrich of Ely, and Ridley elect of Rochester. Old Latimer was now released, but refusing to resume his episcopal function, lived privately with Cranmer. This prelate and his friends obtained letters patent for a visitation over England, during which all bishops were prohibited from preaching in any place but in their own cathedrals ; and other ecclesiastics were restricted to their collegiate or parochial churches, unless provided with the king's special licence. The kingdom was divided into six separate districts or circuits ; and the visitors for each consisted of two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a register. They were furnished with injunctions, articles, and homilies, drawn up for the instruction of the people ; and they were accompanied by the most eminent preachers, to explain the most useful articles of religion. The common people considered the priests as so many mountebanks, who had secrets for the salvation of their souls, and thought nothing was necessary but to leave their spiritual concerns to the skill and direction of such empirics. Some preachers had run into the other extreme, and persuaded their hearers, that if they magnified Christ, and depended wholly upon his merits and

intercession, they could not perish, even though they should lead the most profligate lives. In the homilies these errors were rectified. They ascribed the salvation of mankind to the death and sufferings of Christ : but they declared there was no salvation through Christ, but to such as truly repented, and lived according to the rules of the gospel. The articles and injunctions related to the renunciation of the papal power, the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, preaching and teaching the elements of religion in the vulgar tongue, taxing the benefices of the clergy for the support of the poor, the maintenance of scholars and mansion-houses, regulating the lives of churchmen, and abolishing superstition, pilgrimages, images, and other absurdities of the popish religion. In a word, the instructions and injunctions contained excellent rules for the reformation of the clergy, as well as of the ignorant laity, and for the advancement of true piety and good morals. Nevertheless, they met with great opposition. Bonner received them with a protestation, that he would observe them, if they were not contrary to God's law, and the ordinances of the church. Sir Anthony Cook, and the other visitors, complaining of this protest to the council, he was ordered to appear ; and though he made a full submission, was committed to the Fleet-prison. The council being informed of Gardiner's attention to reject the homilies summoned him to the board, and expostulated with him upon the subject. He affirmed that the homilies contained manifest contradictions, and excluded charity from justification ; he offered to dispute upon this subject at Oxford, against any opponent whatsoever : and he exclaimed against the paraphrase of Erasmus, which he said was bad enough in the original, but much worse in the English translation. Notwithstanding all his arguments, he was likewise sent to the Fleet, from whence

Burnet.

whence he wrote a letter in his own vindication to the protector, when this nobleman returned in triumph from Scotland: but he was not released till after the session of parliament, when he was set at liberty by an act of pardon.

A. C. 1547.

Proceedings
in convoca-
tion.

On the fifth day of November, the convocation met, and Taylor dean of Lincoln was chosen prolocutor. Cranmer opened the assembly with a speech, in which he pressed the members to a further reformation, that the remains of popery might be entirely laid aside. The lower house presented four petitions to the upper house, praying that the ecclesiastical laws might be reviewed and published pursuant to a statute enacted in the late reign, that the clergy of the lower house might be admitted to sit in parliament with the commons, according to ancient usage. That the corrections made by the bishops and others in the office of divine service, by order of the convocation, might be laid before the house; and that the rigour of the statute for the payment of first fruits might be mitigated. The attendance of the lower clergy in parliament had been two hundred years in disuse; and therefore no regard was paid to this petition. It was resolved, however, that some bishops and divines should be appointed to labour for the reformation of the church service. In this convocation, a motion was made for annulling all canons, laws, and usages against the marriage of priests, and likewise all vows of celibacy; and a resolution taken to administer the communion in both kinds: this was immediately confirmed by act of parliament.

At the same time the privy-council published a proclamation, indemnifying all those who had omitted bearing candles on Candlemas day, taking ashes on Ash-Wednesday, creeping to the cross, carrying palms, and other ceremonies of superstition. They likewise directed a mandate to the archbishop of Canterbury, for a general suppression
of

of images; and this order was rigorously put in execution, though not without a dangerous opposition. Cranmer's next care was to form a committee for reforming the offices of the church. It was composed of eminent prelates, and doctors in divinity, who proceeded with equal accuracy and circumspection. A form being drawn up for the communion in both kinds, was published by the king's proclamation, and the books distributed through all the parishes of England. The new book of Common-prayer, and the other offices composed by the committee, were extremely disagreeable to Gardiner, who exerted all his eloquence and influence in exciting the people to reject such innovations; he preached openly against the proceedings of the government, and employed all his emissaries to bring their injunctions into contempt with the multitude. Accordingly several dangerous commotions were raised; and the Lollard mob being the stronger, became very insolent and licentious, until they were suppressed by the care and vigilance of the administration. Gardiner was several times summoned before the council, and reprimanded for the liberties he had taken in defending popery; at length he flatly told the protector, that as a bishop, he could not be answerable to his own conscience, for omitting to preach upon the mass and the eucharist, which he conceived to be the principal points of the Christian religion. He was therefore committed to the Tower, and all his papers were secured.

The new liturgy is established.

Gardiner is committed to the Tower.

The new liturgy being established, and the act of uniformity passed, another visitation was set on foot. The instructions given to the visitors imported, That in all parish churches the service should be read in a plain audible voice, as the people did not understand it while the priests retained the tone they used in reading Latin prayers: That some of the old rites should be abolished, such as the priest's kissing the altar, the practice

A. C. 1549.

tice of crossing, lifting the book from one place to another, breathing on the bread, and shewing it before the distribution, praying by beads, and substituting a certain number of Ave-Marias for one Pater-noster. That the priests should exhort the people to remember the box of the poor; and that curates should preach and catechise at least once in six weeks: That the communion should not be sold in trentals; and that there should be but one communion in one church, except on Easter-day and Christmas, when people came to the sacrament in greater numbers; and that no markets should be held, or bargains made in churches or churchyards, especially in time of divine service or sermon. Cranmer, at the same time, held a provincial visitation, in which the articles were drawn according to the king's injunction. The council sent orders to the bishop of London, to forbid special masses in St. Paul's church; and to take care that there should be only one communion at the great altar. Bonner immediately complied with this order, and the new service was universally received, except by the princess Mary, whose chaplains still continued to say mass in her own family, notwithstanding the exhortations, and even threats of the council.

Burnet.

Bonner's
compliance.

In the course of this year public disputations were held at Oxford and Cambridge, touching the real presence in the sacrament. The Lutherans affirmed, that in the sacrament there was both the substance of the bread and wine, and Christ's body together. The protestants of Swisserland taught, That the sacrament was only an institution, to commemorate the death and sufferings of Christ. Martin Bucer believed in the real presence, though he did not think the mystery was to be explained; and Calvin agreed with him in maintaining, that the body and blood of Christ were really present. Peter Martyr, settled at Oxford, publicly explained the Eucharist in the Helvetian manner, and a tumult was raised on the

the occasion. Public disputations were afterwards held in presence of the king's commissioners. Cranmer collected and published all the reasons against the doctrine of transubstantiation, and was answered by Gardiner, under the name of Marcus Constantius. It was at this time, that the council ordered the laws to be put in execution against anabaptists, and other heretics, who began to abound in England, and broach doctrines equally absurd and blasphemous. Of these we have already mentioned Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, whose death-warrant the young king signed with the utmost reluctance. There was another sect called Gospellers, who professed the doctrine of predestination, from which they made such inferences, that many people gave way to their passions, under the notion of their being predestinated to such actions; so that impiety, and even desperation, was often the consequence of such a belief. Luther altered his opinion concerning this tenet, and Melancthon condemned it in his writings: but it was still maintained by Calvin and Bucer.

Sects of anabaptists and gospellers.

We have, in the civil history, seen how Gardiner was deprived, and the protector disgraced. Upon the fall of this nobleman, the hopes of the papists began to revive; they even gave out that the old religion would prevail, as the new service was nothing more than an act of the duke of Somerset. The council being apprised of this report, wrote to all the bishops of England, requiring all clergymen to deliver up all antiphonales, missals, grayles, processions, manuals, legends, pies, portuasses, journals, and ordinals, to such as should be appointed by the king to receive them; injoining the bishops to observe one uniform order, in the service set forth by the common consent of the realm: and in particular, to take care that there should be provision made of bread and wine for the communion on Sunday. At the same time, an

Implements of superstition suppressed.

A. C. 1550

act passed in parliament, decreeing, That all books of superstition should be destroyed; that all images in churches should be defaced; and that the prayers to saints should be expunged from all the primers which the late king had published.

Hooper re-
fuses to
wear the
episcopal
vestments.

Ridley's elevation to the see of London, and Hooper's promotion to that of Gloucester, were events that operated strongly in favour of the reformation. Yet this last refused to wear the episcopal vestments, which he said were human inventions, and not suitable to the simplicity of the christian religion. In vain Cranmer and Ridley exhorted him to comply with this ceremony, as a law enjoined by the magistrate, and a matter of little or no consequence in religion. In vain did Bucer and Peter Martyr second the opinion of those prelates: Hooper continued obstinate, and was for some time suspended from preaching. In the course of this summer, John-a-Lasco was allowed to preach at St. Austin's in London, to a congregation of Germans, who had fled from their own country, rather than receive the interim of the diet. They were erected into a corporation, and four other ministers were associated with John-a-Lasco, tho' he was superintendant. At this juncture, Polydore Vergil was permitted to retire to his own country, and to hold the archdeaconry of Wells, with his prebend of Nonnington, notwithstanding his absence from the kingdom. Poinet was declared bishop of Rochester, and Coverdale was appointed coadjutor to Veysey bishop of Exeter. The book of Common prayer was reviewed, and many articles of it censured by Martin Bucer, who now wrote a book for the king's use, intitled, Concerning the kingdom of Christ. Young Edward was bent upon reforming the abuses of the church. He even began to write a discourse about a general reformation: and it was at this period, that the journal of his proceedings commenced.

In

In the beginning of the following year, Bucer died at Oxford, universally regretted by all those who favoured the reformation. He was a person of great learning, modesty, and zeal, and had nothing so much at heart as the union of those who professed the doctrines of Christianity. The greatest part of this year was spent by Cranmer and Ridley, in preparing the articles which should contain the doctrines of the church of England, in a concise and plain form, cutting off the errors of popery, as well as those lately introduced by the anabaptists and enthusiasts of Germany; avoiding the niceties of schoolmen, together with some points of controversy; and with regard to others leaving a liberty to divines of following their private opinions, without disturbing the peace of the church. The next care of the reformers was to correct the book of Common-prayer, in which they made some additions and alterations, which were authorised by act of parliament. In the same session another act was passed, relating to holidays and fasting-days. It was decreed, That all Sundays, with the days marked in the calendar and liturgy, should be kept as holidays; and that the bishops should proceed by the censures of the church against the disobedient. A proviso was added, for the observation of St. George's feast by the knights of the garter; another in favour of labourers or fishermen, who might work on these days, in case of necessity. The eves of holidays were ordained to be kept as fasts; and on Fridays and Saturdays, as well as in Lent, abstinence from flesh was enjoined. Other laws were enacted against usury and simony, and in favour of the marriage of the clergy.

A. C. 1551.

The book
of Common-
prayer cor-
rected.

After the dissolution of this parliament, the chiefs of the reformed religion were employed in devising proper rules and regulations for the ecclesiastical courts, and all things relating to the government

Reformati-
on of eccle-
siastical
laws.

A. C. 1552. of the church. An act had passed, empowering the king to nominate two and thirty persons for making a general reformation of the ecclesiastical laws: and, during this session, a commission was given to eight persons to prepare the matter for the review of the two and thirty, that it might be the more easily compiled. This work was chiefly composed by Cranmer, and proves that he was the greatest canonist then in England. Dr. Haddon, university orator at Cambridge, and Sir John Chiek were employed to translate it into the Latin language; a task which they performed with equal accuracy and elegance. It was digested into fifty one titles; and the thirty two commissioners divided themselves into four classes, in order to revise, correct, and bring it to perfection: they accordingly finished the work; but the king died before it received the royal confirmation. At this period, the clergy were brought into contempt by their extreme poverty. Many ecclesiastics exercised the trades of carpenters, taylors, and publicans. The rich did not maintain students at the universities, according to the king's injunctions. The places designed for poor scholars in schools and colleges, were given to the children of wealthy people: the livings were sold in a scandalous manner, and the majority of the country clergy were so ignorant, that they could hardly read the service.

The council of Trent was now suspended for two years, without having made any progress in the reformation of the church. When it was convoked by the pope, the king of France had protested against it, and threatened to call a national council in France. Nevertheless the emperor pressed the Germans to go to Trent; and Maurice, with the other princes of the Augsburgh confession, ordered their divines to consider of the matters to be propounded in council. They demanded a safe-conduct from the council as well as from the emperor;
and

and this was obtained, though not in the terms of that which was granted by the council of Basil to the Bohemians. Mean while the fathers published their decrees about the Eucharist, confirming the doctrine of transubstantiation. Then they proceeded to enjoin auricular confession as necessary to salvation. The ambassadors of the duke of Wirtemberg moving, that they might have a safe-conduct for their divines to come and propose their doctrines, the legates answered, that they would not engage in any disputation with the protestant divines; but, if they had any scruple, in which they desired satisfaction, with an humble and obedient mind, they should have a hearing; with regard to the safe-conduct, they said it argued a distrust of the council, to ask any other than what was already granted. When the ambassadors of Maurice arrived at Trent, they desired that every article might be reconsidered: but this proposal was rejected with disdain. Then they excepted to the safe-conduct which had been given, as different from that of the council of Basil; the legates promised to take that affair into consideration. The pope understanding that the emperor intended to revive the spirit of former councils, in order to lessen the pontifical power, made peace with France, and ordered the legates to proceed in the decision of the doctrine, hoping the protestants would retire from Trent, in despair of obtaining their demands. The safe-conduct they desired was refused; and another being granted for the security of their persons, divines arrived from Wirtemberg and Straßbourg; but the war of Germany breaking out, the bishops of the empire and the ambassadors retired, and the legates suspended the council for two years. The history of this famous council which ended in smoke, was written with equal elegance and impartiality by father Paul of Venice; though, after the death of this celebrated author, Pallavicini, a Jesuit, pretended

Proceedings
of the council
of Trent.

Burnet.

to refute him in another history on the same subject, from pretended journals and memorials of those who were present at the council.

The see of
Durham di-
vid. d.

In the last parliament of Edward, an act was passed for dividing the diocese of Durham into two bishoprics, one of which was denominated the see of Newcastle. The council afterwards appointed visitors to make an enquiry about the plate, jewels, and other furniture, in all cathedrals and churches, and compare what they should find, with the inventories made in former visitations, that they might know how far, and in what manner, it had been embezzled.

State of the
church un-
der Mary.

When Mary ascended the throne, the deprived bishops were restored, the protestant prelates were set aside, and the council wrote a letter to the bishops, attended with a proclamation, forbidding all persons to preach or expound the scriptures without the queen's licence. The papists, even before they were supported by any legal authority, began to erect altars, and revive the superstitious ceremonies which had been abolished. We have seen, in the civil history, how Mary, with the assistance of cardinal Pole, re-established the Roman catholic religion. After the suppression of Wyat's rebellion, instructions were sent to the bishops, enjoining a visitation of their clergy, and a restoration of all the rites, ceremonies, and canons of the Roman church. The bishops who favoured the restoration, were now deprived in their turn; and the jails were filled with protestant divines. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were committed prisoners by the queen's precept, to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford, where they were obliged to dispute with four popish divines in public, and treated with the most insolent partiality. Those who were imprisoned in and about London, drew up repeated addresses and petitions to the queen and parliament; and these being altogether neglected, their friends and partisans were inflamed into some indecencies against the government, which were productive of a severe per-

persecution. In the beginning of this reign, a great number of English protestants retired to the continent, and settled in several different places. Those residing at Franckfort were greatly influenced by John Knox the Scottish reformer, who exclaimed against the English liturgy, and was a violent asserter of purity in church-government. These principles produced a schism among the English refugees. Those who had retired to Zurich disclaimed all such innovations. Knox and Whittingham consulted Calvin, who disapproved of the English service. Nevertheless, they agreed to compromise the difference, and to compile a new liturgy from those of England and Geneva. Dr. Cox, however, with some other refugees, arriving at Franckfort, acquired a majority in the assembly, and fixed the imputation of treason on Knox and his party. They supported the charge from parts of his own writings, levelled not only at queen Mary, but also against the emperor; so that he was obliged to take refuge in Geneva; and Cox modelled the church at Franckfort according to the English constitution.

Upon the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, all the ecclesiastical measures which had been taken in the last reign were reversed. She assumed the supremacy, ejected the popish bishops, restored those few of the protestant prelates who were alive; prepared a set of injunctions that differed very little from those of Edward; and gave order for a royal visitation of the clergy all over England. The commissioners were chiefly laymen, to whom she delegated her whole supremacy. The English refugees now returned to their own country, the greater part of them with strong prejudices against the church-service; and several foreign princes interceded with the queen in behalf of those dissenters, that they might be indulged with the liberty of a separate worship. This, however, she would never grant, though they enjoyed a toleration

The reformation established by Elizabeth.

tion from her connivance. Dr. Parker had been prevailed upon to accept of the archbishopric of Canterbury; and the papists affected afterwards to ridicule the irregularity of his ordination, which they branded with the name of the Nag's head consecration; because, after he had been consecrated in Lambeth chapel, the officers of the court of Canterbury were entertained at a tavern of that name in Cheapside. It appears, however, from incontestible evidence, that he was duly consecrated; and thus authorized, he proceeded to the consecration of other prelates, who were elected into the vacant sees. Jewel bishop of Salisbury published a list of the absurdities in the religion of Rome; and declared from the pulpit, that if any papist would make good a single proposition of those he had stigmatized, either from the scripture, or the ancient fathers and councils, he would give up the contest and subscribe himself a proselyte. He afterwards distinguished himself by his apology for the church of England, and acquired great reputation for learning all over Europe.

She acts
with vigour
against the
dissenters.

A. C. 1563.

Notwithstanding Elizabeth's aversion to popery, she did not approve of the marriage of the clergy. She even directed an order to the archbishop of Canterbury, implying, That no head of a cathedral or college should keep his wife or family within those places; and signified her dislike of marriage among the clergy, in a private letter to Parker himself, who was a married prelate. The dissenters, who about this time published the Geneva Bible, were become so bold and troublesome with their fanaticism, that the queen found it convenient to check their vivacity, by a proclamation commanding all heretics, whether foreigners or natives, to depart the kingdom in one and twenty days. This served to keep them within bounds; and the majority of them thought proper to dissemble their opinions. Nevertheless, the worship of Geneva continued to make proselytes, even in the convocation, where
some

some prelates proposed a further reformation in church-ceremonies: a proposal which occasioned very warm debates, though no innovation was made. They insisted upon doctrinal points, and settled the articles of religion as they now stand in the book of Common Prayer. Yet the heats concerning some forms were so violent, that Elizabeth in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, required him to exert his authority against those who refused to conform with the established church, threatening to employ more rigorous methods for that purpose, should the efforts of him and the other prelates miscarry.

The puritans were patronized by the earl of Leicester, and Pilkington bishop of Durham: but, notwithstanding their interest, Elizabeth resolved to make some examples. Sampson dean of Christ-church in Oxford, was deprived of his deanery; and Humphrey, president of Magdalen-college, was confined and censured. The dissenters still gaining ground, under the auspices of Beza, a foreigner, archbishop Parker prevailed upon the queen to publish a proclamation, enjoining conformity to the habits; and some of the inferior clergy were silenced, suspended, and even imprisoned. The puritans are said to have been clandestinely encouraged by the jesuits, some of whom were taken in the act of preaching their doctrines, in order to foment divisions in the church of England. It must be owned, however, that if the dissenters were thus encouraged, they themselves did not know the real characters of their auxiliaries; for, of all other christians, they were the most rancorous enemies of popery, and all its adherents. We have elsewhere observed that missionaries were sent over from the English seminaries abroad, to foment the intestine troubles of the kingdom; and, as they wore all kinds of disguise, some of them might appear in the shape of puritans, that they might the better avoid the cognizance of the law, and have

Jesuits appear in the disguise of puritans.

have opportunities of misleading the weakest-minded people, who are those that are the most subject to the impressions of fanaticism.

Opinions of
the dissen-
ters.

The chief preacher and director of the puritans was Thomas Cartwright of the university of Cambridge; and the tenets in which he dissented from the established church were these that follow. He taught that the names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be suppressed: That the office of a bishop ought to be limited to preaching and praying; and that of a deacon to the employment of taking care of the poor: That the government of the church ought to be vested in the minister and elders; and that every minister ought to belong to a particular congregation; and that his office ought to be conferred upon him by the public choice of the congregation: That no person ought to be admitted into the ministry, unless he had the talent of teaching and preaching; and that the same person ought to preach, pray, and administer the sacrament: That nothing but canonical scripture ought to be read in the church: That there ought to be no private prayer in the church liturgy; but all the audience should attend to the minister, whether preaching or praying: That the minister has no exclusive privilege for burying the dead, which equally belongs to the rest of the parish: That all portions of scripture, names, and distinctions of God, ought to be treated with the same degree of regard; so that the people need not stand at the reading of the Gospel, or bow at the name of Jesus: That the posture of sitting at the communion is as lawful as that of kneeling or standing, and exhibits a more natural representation of a supper: That the sacrament ought not to be administered in private, even to those in danger of death: That the sign of the cross in baptism is a superstitious practice: That the father ought to present the child for baptism, and make a confession of the faith in which he intends to instruct him:

him : but that there ought to be no set form ; nor should the child's name be given by a woman ; nor should any person be allowed to engage for the education of the infant, but such as is qualified to receive the Lord's supper ; and all names of paganism should be avoided, as well as sacred epithets, such as Christ, Angel, Baptist, &c. That matrimony ought to be celebrated at all times of the year ; and that it was scandalous to take money for a licence to marry at certain prohibited times ; That no persons ought to marry without the knowledge of the congregation . That it is unlawful to fast in Lent, as well as on Fridays and Saturdays : That the keeping of holidays and fairs upon the Lord's day is unlawful : That kings and bishops ought not to be anointed ; and that these words, " Receive the holy Ghost," at the ordination of ministers, ought to be omitted, as a ridiculous and wicked expression.

Collier.

These were the opinions espoused and asserted by Cartwright, who made such progress in his teaching, as alarmed the established church. Dr. Charderton of Cambridge, and afterwards the two archbishops, complained of him to Cecil and the council. In the next parliament, an act was passed obliging the clergy to declare their assent to the thirty-nine articles; and several canons for discipline were enacted in the convocation. Two protestations were imposed upon the papists, and those of the reformed religion. By the first they acknowledged the queen's supremacy, and disclaimed the power of the pope. By the other, they renounced any act or sentence of any synod, church, consistory, or ecclesiastical assembly, to the prejudice of this supremacy. Cartwright published pamphlets in defence of his tenets. He was seconded by one Edward Deringe, who gave lectures in St. Paul's cathedral; and a presbytery was formed at the village of Wandsworth, on the model of the Geneva institution. Some dignitaries of

who were severely treated by archbishop Parker.

of the church took up the pen and answered those pamphlets. A proclamation was issued for executing the laws against nonconformists; and some of the principal dissenters were suspended, deprived, and imprisoned. The severities exercised against them were chiefly attributed to archbishop Parker, who suspected them of practices against his person. He had always been a bitter enemy to their opinions; and now perceiving they were countenanced by persons of high rank, he complained that the church had no friend at court, but the queen herself. She ordered the lord treasurer Burleigh to make a severe speech in the council against nonconformity. She declared against the religious exercises of the dissenters; and seemed at this juncture inclined to a persecution; for ten Dutchmen and one woman were condemned to the stake for heresy. Though the sentence was afterwards mitigated into banishment; yet two persons of the same nation were actually burned at Smithfield.

A. C. 1575.

They are favoured by his successor Grindal.

Parker dying, was succeeded in the archbishopric by Grindal of York, a prelate of great moderation. He was favourable to the puritans, and even recommended their exercise of prophesying to the queen and council. But she ordered him to suppress them, though they consisted in nothing but an exposition of the scripture. He wrote some strong remonstrances in their favour; and was so inflexible on the subject, that the members of the Star-chamber, by virtue of their ecclesiastical commission, confined him to his house, and sequestered him for six months from his jurisdiction. The persecuting spirit seemed to revive. Two fanatics were put to death; and all the jails of the kingdom were filled with popish and protestant recusants. Grindal's sequestration was continued, because he refused to submit, and alter his opinion of the prophesyings. At length, however, he was restored to his functions; which he exercised, until finding himself pressed with infirmities, he resigned

signed his archbishopric, and retired to Croydon, where he died in a few months after his resignation. He was succeeded by John Whitgift bishop of Worcester, at a time when the nation was infested by the sect of Brownists, the most rigid of all puritans, who derived their name from their founder Robert Brown, a weak enthusiast of Rutlandshire. He had written some pamphlets against both church and state; and Elias Thacker and John Copping were executed for having dispersed them among the people. Brown was saved by the interest of lord Burleigh, to whom he was related. He conformed and relapsed several times, and at last died in a jail, to which he had been committed for a breach of the peace.

Sect of
Brownists.

Whitgift harboured the keenest animosity against the dissenters, whom he represented to the queen as a sect which restrained her supremacy to a temporary jurisdiction. Jealous of her power and prerogative, she conceived a very bad opinion of the puritans: and finding the archbishop a prelate of resolution, according to her own heart, she delegated all ecclesiastical power to him, that she might not be importuned by the patrons of the dissenters, some of whom were her chief ministers and favourites. The first step the archbishop took, was to press the clergy of his diocese to subscribe three articles declared legal by the civilians and judges of England. These imported, that the bishop might punish, by a pecuniary mulct, any person whether ecclesiastic or layman, guilty of any ecclesiastical crime or offence: That the ordinary may inflict a pecuniary punishment upon such as absent themselves from divine service, without reasonable excuse; and that a bishop may make an ordinance, by which an excommunicated person shall pay ten pounds for every month during which he shall stand excommunicated for contempt. His imposing these articles served only to draw upon himself a load of calumny and resentment. At length

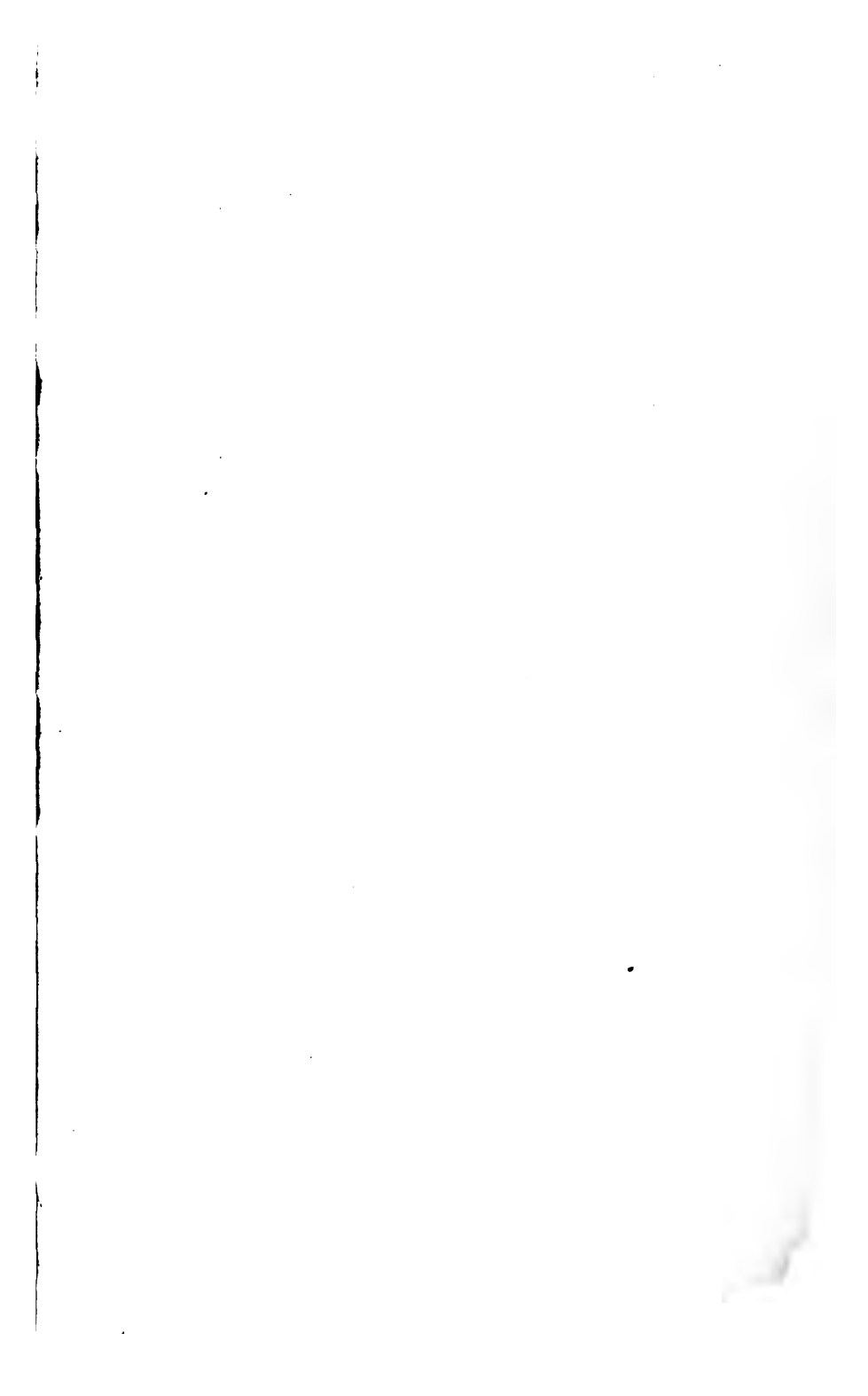
The puri-
tans per-
secuted by
archbishop
Whitgift;

he disputed with the heads of the dissenters at Lambeth, in presence of the earl of Leicester and other ministers, who, though puritanically inclined, could not help deciding it in his favour. Nevertheless, in the next parliament, a strong party in the house of commons joined in presenting a petition to the upper house in favour of the nonconformists: but they were baffled by the vigilance of the archbishop, who prevailed upon the queen to quash all objections to the established religion in the house of commons, and inflict further severities on the dissenters. They were subjected to the oath *ex officio*, as often as it should be administered, on pain of imprisonment. Cartwright was sent to the Fleet for refusing it. Udal, one of their preachers, was condemned to death; and Penry was executed for having written some satyrical libels.

but multiply
and gain
ground.

Puritanism, like every sect, flourished under persecution; and almost all the towns in England were filled with dissenters. At last, they disputed the legality of the ecclesiastical commission, under which they had suffered such severities; and the matter was solemnly argued at the bar, in an action brought by one Caudrey, a deprived minister. Many learned arguments were produced on each side of the question; but the judges came to a resolution, that if the act of supremacy had never been made, the king or queen of England, for the time being, might establish such an ecclesiastical commission as was then in force, by the ancient prerogative and law of England. John Greenwood a priest, and Henry Barrow a gentleman, were condemned and executed for heresy: but, in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, those sanguinary laws were not put in execution.

The END of the SIXTH VOLUME.







JUN 5 1936